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## NOTES ON THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED FRAGMENT OF MENANDER'S Γεωργός.

PAGE 1 (recto).

l. 14. Perhaps πῶς ἐρῶς οὐδὲν φράσας.

l. 18. The interrogation which M. Nicole introduces after ἀδελφόν is hardly probable. It is the common construction with οἶδα.

οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰ νῦν ἐξ ἀγροῦ  
ἐνθάδ' ἐπιδημεί.

*nescio enim num frater nunc ex rure regressus  
hic uersetur.*

l. 24. Perhaps κὰν οἷς δ' ἐγὼ νῦν εἶμι.

PAGE 2 (verso).

l. 14. κᾶκλαιον ἅπαντες. It would be natural for the servants to weep under the circumstances of a possibly fatal accident: and this seems to support M. Nicole's other conjecture ἐκεῖσ' ἐκείνος 'Il part pour l'autre monde.'

l. 17. I think the words πάνν φαύλως ἔχει are the παραμυθία, tried to console him, 'it's getting quite well': if so ὁ should be omitted.

l. 19 to 24. I offer the following:—

εὐ δ' ἦν οὔτος εἰ  
ζωὴν ἀβρὰν παρ' αὐτὸν ἔνδον καὶ σχολὴν  
ἡσπάζετ' ἀπαλλαγείς δικέλλης καὶ κακῶν.  
ἀλλ' οὖν τίς ἐστι σκληρὸς ὁ γέρον τῷ βίῳ  
τοῦ μειρακίου τὰ πράγματ' ἀνακρόνει. B. τινα  
δρῶν; οὐχὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοῶν; A. ἴσως.

PAGE 3 (recto).

l. 1. Nicole seems right in his reading of this line, except perhaps that the word missing at the end is not νῦν, but τόν; l. 2 would thus begin with ἀλαζόν', another of

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M. Nicole's happier guesses. καλέσασα I should construct with ἔξω, 'summoning y name to come out.'

ll. 3, 4. I suggest

ἐμοί γε, Φίλινα, χαίρέτω. τί χαίρέτω;  
οἴμωζέτω μὲν οὖν, τοιοῦτος ὢν γαμεῖν.

'Quantum ad me, Philinna, uiuat ualeatque. Quod "ualeatque" dixi,' immo pessum eat, qui talem se praebeat in nuptiis, h.e. tam peruersum.

ll. 10-13. This passage is very interesting, representing as it does a different recension from that presented by Stobaeus Floril. 57, 5 in this form:

10 ἀγρὸν εἰσεβέστερον γεωργεῖν οὐδένα  
11 οἶμαι φέρι γὰρ ὅσα θεοῖς ἄνθη καλά,  
12 κιττὸν, δάφνην, κριθὰς δ' ἐὰν σπεύρω, πάνν  
13 δίκαιος ὢν ἀπέδωχ' ὅσας ἂν καταβάλλω.

Of these, the remains of l. 10 in the newly-discovered papyrus seem to show that it was identical. Not so with the other three. They stand thus in the papyrus:

οιμαιφειρειγαρμυρρ . . . . . καλον  
ανθητοσανταταλλα δ . . . . . η  
απεδοκενορθωσκαδικαιωσον . . . ν.

This, one would suppose, might naturally be, as M. Nicole suggests,

οἶμαι φέρι γὰρ μυρρίνην κιττὸν καλόν,  
ἄνθη τοσαῦτα: τᾶλλα δ' ἂν τις καταβάλῃ,  
ἀπέδωκεν ἐρῶς καὶ δικαίως οὐ πλείον,  
ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέτρον.

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In these restitutions I see nothing to alter except possibly *μυρρίνας*, and *κίσθον* or *κίστον* for *κιστόν*. Ivy might, of course, be planted side by side and rank with myrtle: <sup>1</sup> yet it would be more natural to sow a sweet-smelling plant like the *κίσθος*, just as the comic poet Mnesimachus mentions this latter with mint, storax and a variety of other flowers whose *ὁσμὴ* *σεμνὴ* *μυκτῆρα* *δονεῖ* (fr. 4, v. 63 in vol. ii. of Kock's *Fragm. Comicorum*). The supplement of l. 13 M. Nicole draws from a fragment preserved by the scholiast on Aristides 541, 30, Dindorf (899 K.). I believe most critics will prefer M. Nicole's supplements as given above to the different version which he prints in his complete text p. 69.

l. 15. *πάνθ' ὅσ' ἀναφέρομεν* is possible, *ἀν*-having fallen out. The papyrus gives *παντασάφερομεν*.

ll. 17, 18. If the papyrus is right in giving in 18 *οὐνεκ' ἐθεώρουν γε[ν]νικά καὶ κοσμία* (duals), it would seem that *two* women are addressed in 17. I cannot see how M. Nicole's *γεννικά τε καὶ κόσμια* can mean 'à toi pour qui je faisais de beaux et nobles rêves.' But on the other hand it is difficult to find a vocative which will at once fit into the line, e.g. *Scythi*, *Lychni*,

*ωχαιρεπολλαμυρρινηνκαισνγ*

and correspond with the letters *rv*, them-

<sup>1</sup> So, seemingly, in Alciphron, 3, 17, and the passage of Lucian cited on p. 35: but the corruptions of Menander's text might easily have set in before the age of either Lucian or Alciphron.

selves, M. Nicole states, p. 70, a correction of *νη*.

l. 19. This *v*. in the papyrus has a syllable too much:

*μᾶλλον δὲ πράξειν ἰσομένων ἐὰν οἱ θεοί.*

The order of the words *μᾶλλον δὲ πρ. ἰσομένων* looks right, and would be spoilt by an inversion like *ἰσομένων πρᾶξ.* It might seem therefore that the article before *θεοὶ* should be omitted, and *ἂν* (or possibly *ἤν*) be written for *ἐάν*.

Page 4 (verso).

l. 14. *ἦ τ' ἐρημία.*

l. 16. Perhaps omit *γε*.

The new fragment must, I fear, be considered, at present, to require a large amount of extra elucidation; much of the first editor's conjectural restoration is more than doubtful.

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Page 1 (recto), l. 14. The line probably ended

*ἰσπ]έρας οὐδὲν φράσας,*  
the meaning being something like 'I will stay away till evening.'

l. 19. *με δεῖ*, not *μ' ἔδει*.

Page 2 (verso), l. 19. *οὔτος εἰ. οὔτοσί?*

Page 3 (recto), l. 4. *τὸ[v ο]ὔτω σῶν γαμῖν!*  
Rather *τὸ [δ' ο]ὔτω*.

Page 4 (verso), l. 12. *ἔ]ξιν.* No, *ἦ]ξιν*.

l. 14. *ἦ τ' ἐρημία.*

A. PLATT.

## THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

(Continued from page 339.)

### IX. THE WAYS AND MEANS.

THE genuineness of the *Πόροι* (*Ways and Means*), as a work of Xenophon, has been denied or doubted, sometimes on the ground of the date assumed for it, sometimes because it praises peace and does not praise agriculture, or for similar reasons. Into these questions I do not propose to enter, though I will say something presently as to the form of the work, in which some critics discover a speech, or even two speeches, addressed to the popular assembly. I will first examine whether there is anything in it that belongs noticeably to the vocabulary

or manner of Xenophon. As its unity has been impugned, it will be best to take things in order as they come.

*Προστάτης* in its legal sense and *προστάτης* τοῦ δήμου are not noteworthy, but in a wider use *προστάτης* (*τῆς πόλεως*, etc.) is not very common in political writers, never for instance occurring in Thucydides nor in the *Politics*, though the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* has it in 22, 4. X. however has it several times, and such is its use in the first sentence of this treatise, *ὁποῖοί τινες ἂν οἱ πρόσταται ὦσι, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι*. It recurs (*προστάται τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*) in 5, 6 and in the same place we have *προστατεύειν* a verb

which, though frequent in X., seems to be used by no other Attic author. The poets, Plato, and X. occasionally have *προστατεῖν*. The temporal use of *ἐπεὶ*=*after, since* (1, 1: 5, 6 *bis* and 12; perhaps the first instance is doubtful) we have seen before to be frequent in Thucydides and X., not in common Attic prose, which prefers *ἐπειδὴ*. Πη (1, 1) is Xn. *Διατρέφω* (1, 1: *διατροφὴ* 4, 49), rare elsewhere, occurs in X. four or five times. The use of *ἐπικουρῶ* in 1, 1 (*νομίζω... ἅμα τῇ τε πενία αὐτῶν ἐπικουρησθαι ἂν καὶ τῷ ὑπόπτους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι*) reminds us not only of the doubtful *R. L.* 2, 6 τῷ λιμῷ ἐπικουροῦντας, but also of *Mem.* 1, 4, 13 νόσοις ἐπικουρησθαι and *Anab.* 4, 5, 13 ἐπικουρήματα τῆς χιῶνος. In all these places it will be seen that there is a notion of something to be guarded against. *Ἀναφαίνομαι* (1, 2: 4, 4) is a favourite word with X. *Πρωαῖτα* and *ὀψιατά* are words sufficiently uncommon for us to notice that their antithesis (1, 3 π. μὲν ἄρχεται, ὁ δὲ λήγει) is found also in *Hell.* 4, 5, 18 and in the disputed *Cyr.* 8, 8, 9. *Λήγω* (*ibid.*) is a word of extreme rarity in most Attic prose. Demosthenes has it once (24, 98) in what was no doubt a traditional phrase (*περὶ λήγοντα τὸν ἑαυτὸν*). Cf. *Thuc.* 5, 81, 2 τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος, one of the two places in which Thucydides uses the word, and *λήγοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, τοῦ θέρους* *Ar. Hist. An.* 5, 12, 544 a 16; 28, 555 b 30). Of the speeches ascribed to Lysias the very doubtful *ἐπιτάφιος* is the only one that has it (§ 74 *λῆξι τῆς λύπης*) and that speech has also such words as *κλέος* and *πενθεῖν*. Aristophanes seems to have it only in the *Peace* (332, 1076, 1328), and in two of the three passages the language is not that of prose at all. On the other hand X. and Plato use it freely, and I ought to have pointed to its use in *Agesilaus* 2, 14 and 20: 11, 2 as a repeated Xn. touch. *Ἀμφί*, in the use of which X. stands alone among good Attic prose-writers, occurs in this treatise in three different ways (1, 6 ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα ὤκισθαι: 4, 8 ἀμφὶ ὅπλα... *δαπανᾶν* (cf. *Anab.* 1, 1, 8): 4, 43 ἀπέχει... ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα στάδια). *Περίρρυτος* (1, 7) and *ἀμφιβάλλω* (*ibid.*) are just such semi-poetical words as occur abundantly in X.

*Αὐτοφυής* (2, 1: 4, 2 cf. *De Re Eq.* 7, 11) is one of the terms we find in Thucydides, X., Plato, Aristotle, not in the orators or the ordinary language of comedy (once in a poetical fragment of Aristophanes, containing such a word as *χθονός*). The strengthened *ἐπείπερ* (2, 1) is very rare in oratory, very common in Plato, occasional in X. (*Oec.* 1, 11: *Hipparch.* 8, 4, etc.). *Ἄλλο-*

*δαπός* (2, 4) is a word of poetry, unknown not only to oratory and comedy, but also to Thucydides, and even to Plato: X. has it *Cyr.* 8, 7, 14 (*Mem.* 4, 3, 8 is probably spurious). Six times in this treatise (2, 6: 3, 3: 4, 9, 41, 47, 52) we find *πολύ* with a comparative (*πολὺ πλείους, πολὺ μᾶλλον* etc.), not once I think *πολλῷ*. Holden's index to the *Oeconomicus* shows that there *πολύ* with a comparative occurs ten times, *πολλῷ* once; and X. seems generally to prefer *πολύ*. *Κερδαλέος* is rare in prose. It occurs not at all in Lysias and Demosthenes, twice in Thucydides, two or three times in Isocrates, occasionally in Plato. X. has it a dozen times (including *Ages.* 11, 3) and it occurs here in 3, 1 and 5, 11. *Ἀμφίλογος* (3, 3) will not, I think, easily be found in any good prose writer save X. (two or three times), Thucydides (twice), Aristotle (once?). The same sentence gives us in *ὡς μὴ κωλύσθαι ἀποπλεῖν τὸν βουλόμενον* X.'s very characteristic use of *ὡς*=*ὥστε*, which is almost or quite unknown to other Attic writers of prose. It occurs again in 4, 35. On the other hand X.'s final *ὡς* with subjunctive or optative is not found in this book. *Ὅπως* occurs four or five times: *ἵνα* according to Weber's figures four times, but in reality I think once (4, 13) in the stereotyped phrase *ἵνα... εἴπω*, where perhaps *ὅπως* and *ὡς* were hardly admissible, and once (6, 1) otherwise. Weber lays it down that in X. as a whole *ἵνα* and *ὅπως* are equally balanced, but that *ὅπως* preponderates in his later years. *Ἔστιν ὅτε* (3, 4) and *ἔστιν ἄς* (3, 11) agree with X.'s preference of such forms to *ἐνίοτε* and *ἐνίοι*. The only other passage cited for *ἐμπόνημα* (3, 4) is *Hiero* 9, 11. *Ἐπισπεύδειν* (3, 4 *ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἐπισπεύδοιεν ἂν*) will be found in *Hell.* 5, 1, 33: *Symp.* 7, 4, and *δύσελπις* (3, 7), a rare word, in *Hell.* 5, 4, 31. The construction *δύσελπις τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ προθύμως ἂν... εἰσφέρειν* has parallels in X., as may be seen from Sauppe's *Lexilogus* p. 69 b. In speaking of the *Agesilaus* I noticed that X. not only uses *σὺν* where pure Attic has *μετά*, but likes to combine it with words that yield a sort of adverbial phrase. Such expressions are *σὺν τῇ βίᾳ* *Cyr.* 8, 7, 13: *σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι* *ἵνα* (*Anab.* 3, 2, 16). So here in 3, 8 we have *σὺν πολλῇ δαπάνῃ*, whereas Plato once or twice writes *μετὰ δαπάνης*. *Σὺν θεῷ* in 6, 3 is not a noticeable Xn. use, being an old consecrated phrase that survives in all authors the encroachments of *μετά*. *Προτελεῖν* (3, 9 and 10) occurs not only *Ages.* 1, 18, but also *Anab.* 7, 7, 25, hardly elsewhere in good Attic literature.

'Εγγύς with numbers (3, 10 ἐγγὺς δυοῖν μυαῖν) is Xn. (e.g. *Hipparch.* 1, 19) and πολυχρόνιος (*ibid.*) will be found *Mem.* 1, 4, 16.

The passive ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι (4, 2) occurs *Cyr.* 6, 1, 41. We have seen before X.'s fondness for the unattic μέϊων = ἥττων: it occurs three times (3, 23, 50) in this chapter. Such a use of λογίζομαι as (4, 5) ζημίαν λογίζονται, 'they count it a loss,' is uncommon but occurs *Cyr.* 1, 2, 11 μίαν ἄμφω τοῦτω τῷ ἡμέρα λογίζονται. Ἐνδείσθαι (*ibid.*) is a rare middle, used several times by X. Ὡσαύτως (4, 6) we have seen before to be used freely by X. and Plato, very little by the orators. In 4, 8 ἰσχυρῶς ἀργυρίον δέονται and 4, 50 ἰσχυρῶς...πολυάνθρωπος we recognise the ἰσχυρῶς = πᾶν, σφόδρα, etc., which is so distinctive a mark of X. The poetical δυσείρετος (4, 13: cf. δύσελπις above) is used in *Mem.* 3, 14, 7. More significant is the poetical and Ionic τὰ παροχόμενα (*ibid.*), which X. employs *Anab.* 2, 4, 1: *Hell.* I, 4, 17. Πλουτίζω (4, 14) is not quoted by Liddell and Scott from any other prose author, nor have I found it in anything more like good prose than one fragment of the comic poet Timocles: but X. has it half-a-dozen times without reckoning *Ages.* 1, 17: 4, 6. Ἀέναος (4, 17) and εἰδηλος (4, 18) are uncommon words used by X. Μηδὲ τοῦτο φοβέσθε, ὥς κ.τ.λ. (4, 32) is a construction that occurs *Cyr.* 5, 2, 12: 6, 2, 30, facilitated by τοῦτο. Τόσος (*ibid.* not certain) is a form not much used by X., but it occurs now and then, if MSS. may be trusted, e.g. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 26. The ὥς ἂν with optative in 4, 33 can perhaps hardly be called a characteristic instance of the Xn. use (Goodwin *M.* and *T.* Append. iv.). The rather remarkable expression ἐν ὠφελείᾳ (4, 35), 'yielding a profit' is employed *Cyr.* 8, 5, 15 ὅπου μάλιστα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἂν εἴη. Cf. ἐν ἡδονῇ εἶναι (Thucydides and Herodotus). I doubt whether ἔρμα (4, 44) occurs in any orator: often in X. and Thucydides. X. is the only good writer from whom the comparative or superlative of πλησίος (πλησιαίτατα 4, 46: so twice in *Anab.*) is quoted, and ἡ ἐγγύτατα, ἡ πλησιαίτατα πόλις are expressions in accordance with Xn. usage. Αἰξάνω is the only form ordinarily used in Attic prose, but X. like the poets occasionally makes use of αἰξῶ, and we find it here 4, 49: 5, 2. Χῶροι (4, 50) = the more common ἀγροί of 4, 5 occurs several times in most writers: so too εὐπόλεμος and εἰπεινός (4, 51) occur in him, the former once (*Oec.* 4, 3) and the latter a good many times.

In 5, 1 ἔκπλεω is Cobet's certain correction, adopted by Dindorf and Zurborg, for

the unmeaning ἐκ πόλεως. Now ἔκπλεω occurs almost a dozen times in X. and hardly, if at all, anywhere else in good prose. Προσφιλής is a word not used in comedy or oratory: it is found twice in *Oec.* and twice here (5, 1: 6, 1). Καταπράττω (5, 5) is quite a favourite word with X. The infinitive as immediate object of δίδωμι (5, 7 ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτῶν ἔδωκαν Ἀθηναίους: so too perhaps in 2, 6) is many times paralleled in *Cyr.* (L. and S. omit this use or confuse it). The use of ἀνακτᾶσθαι for 'gaining the good will of' so-and-so, which is uncommon but occurs three or four times in *Cyr.*, is found here in 5, 8 (ἀνακτᾶσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας). In 5, 9 we may observe the πρόσθεν which X. prefers to ἔμπροσθεν (see however 4, 28). We have noticed before his use of ἀνά (ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, τὰ πεδία, etc.) where Attic has κατὰ: observe now in 5, 9 ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα and in 5, 10 ἀνὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν. The adverbial τὸ παλαιόν 'in old times' of 5, 12 is found in *Anab.*, *Hell.*, *Cyr.*: καταπατᾶν (*ibid.*) in *Anab.* and *Cyr.* In 6, 1 we notice εὐκλείης, a word quite uncommon in prose, never used by Demosthenes or Lysias (unless the Funeral Speech is his, and even then the speech is exceptional: see above), probably once (?) by Isocrates, but occurring in X. certainly three or four times, exclusive of *Ages.* 10, 3 and 4. Ἐγχερεῖν (6, 1) is often used by X. as a variation on ἐπιχειρεῖν, and συναναεῖν (6, 3) which is very rare (Herodotus and Plato, apparently once each) occurs in X. quite half-a-dozen times, mostly in *Cyr.*

If we ask about the use of particles, we shall find that it is thoroughly Xn. in character. Especially noticeable perhaps is the use of καὶ—δέ, which is always a favourite with X.; καὶ—γε also occurs here frequently: cf. the index to Holden's *Oec.* s.v. Μῆν with its various attendants (καὶ μῆν, ἀλλὰ μῆν, γε μῆν, οἷδὲ μῆν) is incessant. In 4, 40 we have a δέ in the apodosis (εἰ δ' αὖ... νομίζετ' ἂν μηδοσιῶν δύνασθαι εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἐμεῖς δέ...διοικεῖτε τὴν πόλιν) which closely resembles *Cyr.* 5, 5, 21 ἀλλ' εἰ μηδὲ τοῦτο βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τοῦντεῖθεν λέγε. Anaphora with μὲν and δέ is a marked feature of X's writing, and of this treatise: see for instance 2, 2 εἰ ἀφέλομεν μὲν...ἀφέλομεν δέ... μέγας μὲν γάρ...μέγα δέ καὶ κ.τ.λ. The use of τε to connect a sentence with the sentence preceding belongs to Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Aristotle among prose writers, but is seldom found in the orators or Plato (Kühner § 519). I have noticed it twice here (1, 6 and 4, 9) and it may occur elsewhere. The double τε, which is



also by no means common in prose, but sometimes used by X., occurs in 4, 52. Ἄρα is a particle used freely only by Plato and X., not in the orators: it is found in 4, 16.

As in X's undoubted works, no care is taken to avoid hiatus.

Looking for evidence on the other side, I cannot find anything in the Greek to throw doubt on X's authorship. A few questionable expressions there are, but, even if not due to error, they are of no use for our enquiry. We have therefore a considerable number of things in the vocabulary that point to X. very clearly, and nothing whatever (so far as I know) that goes against him. Apart from the details of vocabulary, many turns of thought and expression suggest X. to me, but I lay no stress here upon a somewhat indefinite feeling, the grounds for which are not always clear to oneself and cannot easily be conveyed to others. As to the matter and contents of the little book, they seem to me perfectly consistent with the tradition of X. being the writer, though there is perhaps nothing in them except one small touch, which would actually suggest him. The passage is one to which other critics have drawn attention. After laying his schemes before the Athenians, he adds a hope that in the event of their approval they will before acting on his advice consult the oracles of Dodona and Delphi. This pious precaution is thoroughly in keeping with the feeling and practice of X. Compare for instance *Hipparch.* 9, 8 ταῦτα (the admission of aliens to the cavalry) δὲ πάντα θεῶν συνεθελόντων γένοιτ' ἂν. εἰ δὲ τις τοῦτο θαυμάζει ὅτι πολλάκις γέγραπται τὸ σὺν θεῷ πράττειν, εὖ ἴστω ὅτι ἦν πολλάκις κινδυνεύῃ ἥττον τοῦτο θαυμάσεται κ.τ.λ. But it would not so readily have occurred to everyone that for a more energetic working of the silver mines in the public interest Apollo's sanction ought to be previously obtained.

Hagen has maintained (see Sauppe's preface) that the book is made up of two speeches actually delivered to the people by different speakers, neither of whom was X. I have shown how well the language tallies in every chapter with the usages of X., and how widely it differs from the ordinary diction of Attic orators. The theory of two speakers rests on alleged inconsistencies in different passages: they do not seem to me serious. The reason for supposing the work to be a speech is, no doubt, the repeated use in the latter part of it of the second person plural, when the author is

addressing himself to the Athenians. This use does not appear I think, in the first three chapters. It begins with 4. 1 (ἄμεινον ἂν βουλευίσθε) and recurs several times (4. 32, 40: 5. 9, 10: 6. 2). But that this method of expression does not necessarily imply a public speech may be seen from the fact that it occurs in the *Hipparchicus*, which is certainly not of that nature. X. writes there 3. 12 χρή... ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἅπαντας καταστάντας ὥσπερ εἰώθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελαύνειν, and again 4. 3-5 ὅταν... ἀφικνήσθε... ὅταν ἐξῶ τῶν ὁδῶν διὰ δυσχωρίας ἐλαύνητε... ἦν δ' ἐπὶ κίνδυνον ἐλαύνητε, κ.τ.λ., addressing himself, but only in imagination, to the hipparch and his men, just as a minute before (4. 3) he addresses himself to the hipparch alone in ἦν μὲν γε... ἐλαύνης... ἦν δὲ ἐπιτυχῆνης, on which follows in two lines the ὅταν ἀφικνήσθε. We observed the same thing in the *Respublica Atheniensium* (3. 5 οὐκ οἴεσθε χρήναι) which no one has taken to be a speech. In the work before us there is no ὁ ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖοι or anything similar, nor any even of the make-believe resorted to by Isocrates, and I see no reason for supposing that it was anything but a written composition intended to be read.

It is remarkable that Xenophon, if he is the author, dates his composition, so to speak, from Athens. He refers to Athens as 'here' (ἐνθάδε 1. 3; contrast the use of αὐτόθι in *R.A.* Ἐνθάδε can no more mean 'there' (Liddell and Scott) than αὐτόθι can mean 'here'), and habitually by saying 'we' includes himself among the people who are to do this or that. There seems no external evidence to show that X. ever returned to Athens in his later years; and, if he did not, we may be surprised at the interest he takes after so long an absence in the augmentation of Athenian revenues. The 'we' will have to be put down as an artifice of style.

The best critical edition of the *Ways and Means* is that of Zurborg (Berlin 1876). In 1874 Mr. Zurborg published a *Dissertatio* (*De Xenophontis libello qui Πόροι inscribitur*), in which he defends the Xn. authorship, partly on grounds of style. What he has to say on the style is almost entirely different from the points which I have brought out above. His remarks seem to me true and valuable, but except in one or two trifling details they in no way anticipate mine.

2. 1. X. proposes that the metics be not compelled to serve as hoplites: μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἀπὸν (so most MSS. One

which has sometimes good readings ἀπόντι.) μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν (MSS. τέκνων) καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀπείναι (MSS. ἀπίναι). ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις ἂν ὠφελῇθῃ, εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατεύοντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοντο αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ νῦν Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύριοι καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι.

Zurborg after Kaibel reads μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀγών, the theory being that ἀπών is an error for ἀγών, on which κίνδυνος was a gloss. This is somewhat complicated, and ἀγών is a rhetorical expression quite out of place here. The older conjecture αὐτῶν, though not convincing, seems really better, and αὐτῶν may by contrast be emphatic. Cobet's ἀπείναι for ἀπίναι is the reverse change to that I have suggested (ίναί for εἶναι) in *Ages*. 1. 28. If in the second sentence the expression is strictly accurate, μᾶλλον must be taken with ὠφελῇθῃ, and then we should change the punctuation given by the editors as above, and put a comma after στρατεύοντο.

3. 5. τοσούτῳ ἂν πλείον καὶ εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐξάγοιτο καὶ μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροῖ.

Read τελεσφοροῖτο, as symmetry and sense require: 'would be paid in salary (μισθός) and in dues.' Cf. 4. 35 below.

3. 8. καὶ ταῦτας γενομένης is clearly wrong, but Schneider's ταῦτα γενόμενα (or perhaps γιγνόμενα) seems better than Z.'s καὶ ταῦτα simply as in 10. It would be hard to account for the interpolation of the participle. I understand καὶ τ. γ. to refer not only to the τρήρεις ἐκπεμπομένης, but to the πολλὰ εἰσήνεγκε κ.τ.λ. preceding, as ἀπολήψονται ἃ ἂν εἰσενέγκωσι shows, and this makes the addition of γενόμενα or γιγνόμενα by the author actually necessary.

These sacrifices were made (he says) though it was clear ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἀπολήψονται ἃ ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν οὐδὲ μεθέξουσιν ὧν ἂν εἰσενέγκωσι. The second εἰσενέγκωσι is a clear case of the accidental repetition of a neighbouring word through such a clerical error as we are all liable to, but it is not easy to be sure what word it has displaced. Madvig's ἐξενέγκωσι, also conjectured by Hartman, implies a misunderstanding of the passage. Κερδάνωσι has been suggested by Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, though subsequently he was satisfied with ὧν ἂν <ἐνεκ'> εἰσενέγκωσι which probably suggested to Z. his <ὑπὲρ> ὧν ἂν εἰσενέγκωσι. As X. is speaking of cases in which assistance and even costly assistance was given to other states, I should suggest something like ὠφελήσωσι, διασώσωσι, or δαπανήσωσι; but there is no possibility of fixing the exact word.

4. 13. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὧν λέξω καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ὁρώμεν, τὰ δὲ παροισχόμενα πάντων κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸ ἀκούομεν.

Wilamowitz' παρὰ τῶν πατέρων for πάντων is too bold a conjecture, though Z. admits it to the text. Perhaps πάντα is all we want.

4. 14. τῆς μέντοι πόλεως πᾶν ἄξιον θανατάσαι τὸ αἰσθανομένην πολλοὺς πλουτιζομένους ἐξ αὐτῆς ιδιότης μὴ μμείσθαι τοῖτους. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήπου οἷς μεμέληκεν ἀγκόσμεν ὅτι Νικίας κ.τ.λ.

Οἷς μεμέληκεν seems not only strange in itself, but actually to vitiate or at least weaken the argument. If it was only those οἷς μεμέληκεν who knew these things, there was less wonder that the state failed to act upon the knowledge. The point is that these things were matters of common and universal report. I conjecture therefore that οἷς μεμέληκεν has by accidental omission and then mistaken insertion got out of its proper place and that it belongs to ιδιότης in the line before. Individuals who made it their business had grown wealthy on the mining industry.

4. 17. εἰ...καὶ ἡ πόλις κτῶτο δημόσια ἀνδράποδα, ἕως γιγνοῖτο τρία ἑκάστην Ἀθηναίων.

I fail to see the meaning of the last words. The slaves were to be δημόσια, not the property of individuals; nor can it be the case, as editors seem to suppose, that every individual Athenian was to hire three public slaves to work the mines with. The proposals of the *Ways and Means* may not be very practicable, but the writer at any rate knew better than to think that the slaves in the mines could be divided into gangs of three and then looked after by their individual masters, those masters too being the whole number of free Athenian citizens. The scheme clearly assumes that large capitalists will own large gangs with the necessary overseers. The writer may have said, as Böckh understands him, that the state should buy slaves, till there were three for, that is in proportion to, every citizen. But can the Greek dative mean this?

4. 18. τιμὴν μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰδὼλον ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν τὸ δημόσιον δύναιτο ἢ οἱ ιδιώται παρασκευάσασθαι.

Do we not need <τοσούτων> ἀνθρώπων, or τῶν ἀνθρώπων at the very least? It is not slaves, but such a number of slaves, that the state could afford better than individuals.

4. 26. οὔκ ἂν ποτε πλείω ἀνδράποδα ἐκεῖ γένοιτο ἢ ὅσων ἂν τὰ ἔργα δέηται.

This passage has perhaps been corrupted from § 39, εἰ μὴ πλείονας ἀνθρώπους ἢ δούλους

αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα προσαιτοῖ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβάλοι-  
μεν. There *ὅσους* makes good enough sense.  
They are not to employ more hands than  
whatever number the state of the works  
may require. But here the case is quite  
different. He is saying that the mines are  
practically unlimited and that you cannot  
employ too many men. Indeed the difference  
of the two passages has been made an argu-  
ment for difference of authorship. What  
he ought to say then is 'you cannot employ  
more men than they need.' He must not  
say 'you cannot employ more men than  
whatever number they need,' for that in the  
context would be nonsense. But, when we  
look into the matter, we find that the MSS.  
actually have *δείται*, not *δέγται*, which is  
Heindorf's correction and a necessary one,  
if *ὅσων ἂν* were right. The sense seems to  
require that we shall omit *ὅσων ἂν* and read  
*πλείω... ἢ τὰ ἔργα δείται*; or possibly *ἢ ὅσων*  
*τὰ ἔργα δείται* might stand.

4, 35. *ὅπόσ' ἂν ἡ οἰκοδομηθῇ ἢ ναυπηγηθῇ ἢ*  
*ἀνδράποδα ὠνηθῇ.*

Though the verb is not found anywhere  
else, we need have no hesitation in reading  
*ἀνδραποδωνηθῇ*. Aristophanes has *ἀνδραπο-*  
*δώνης* and the verb must almost certainly  
have been in use. Cf. *ὀφυνεύειν*, *σιτωνεύειν*.  
The passive is not logically bolder than  
*οἰκοδομηθῇ* and *ναυπηγηθῇ*. Cf. the note on  
3, 5 above, and Sallust *Cat.* 2, 7, *quae*  
*homines arant navigant aedificant, virtuti*  
*omnia parent.*

4, 37. *κατὰ γε μὴν τὸ δυνατόν περαίνοντες τὰ*  
*μὲν καλῶς γνωσθέντα καὶ αἰθὺς ἂν ἡμῖν οἰόμεθα*  
*εἰ δέ τι ἁμαρτηθεῖν, ἀπεχθοίμεθ' ἂν αὐτοῦ.*

*Οἰόμεθα* most MSS., but two *οἰοίμεθα*. All  
but one *ἀπεχθοίμεθα*; but that one, which  
contains some good readings, or possibly  
conjectures, has the evidently right *ἀπεχθοί-*  
*μεθα*. Editors read *αἰθὺς ἂν ἀντίτοιμεν*  
(Dindorf): *αἰθὺς ἂν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι οἰόμεθα*  
(Sauppe after Hermann): *αἰθὺς ἂν ἀντίτοιμεν*  
with the mark of a considerable hiatus  
before *οἰόμεθα* (Zurbrig). The last con-  
jecture is quite gratuitous. It seems clear  
that we have only to insert one word to  
make perfect sense, not however *γενέσθαι*,  
but something like *ποιητέα*. We might read  
*καὶ αἰθὺς ἂν ἡμῖν οἰοίμεθα <ποιητέα>*. The  
optative *οἰοίμεθα* is clearly required by the  
sense and by the parallel verb *ἀπεχθοίμεθα*.

4, 43. He propounds a scheme for saving  
the mines from being abandoned in time of  
war. There are already two walls or forts  
(*τείχη*) north and south, about seven and a  
half miles apart. *Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων*  
*γένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἐψηλοτάτῳ Βήσῃς τρίτον ἔνρυμα*  
*συνήκοι τ' ἂν τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν*

*τειχῶν καὶ, εἴ τι αἰσθάνοιτο πολεμικόν, βραχὺ ἂν*  
*εἷη ἐκάστω εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρῆσαι.*

*Συνήκοι τ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.* means literally that the  
galleries or shafts would have been made to  
meet in one from all the forts or walls. This  
is certainly obscure, but perhaps without  
undue forcing we may interpret it to mean,  
or at any rate to imply, that there would be  
free communication from any point in the  
mines with any one of the forts, and that  
therefore on alarm of an enemy's presence  
workmen could take refuge in whatever fort  
was most convenient. It must be a fort  
above ground to which they would resort,  
not some central spot in the mines, because  
(1) there would otherwise be no advantage  
in the new third fort: (2) indeed none of  
the forts would be of any use: (3) the enemy  
could desire nothing better than to be able  
to shut up all the workmen underground.  
Apparently the advantage of the new fort  
would be that it gave many men a shelter  
nearer at hand. At present the forts were  
seven or eight miles apart: now they would  
be three or four miles apart, and therefore a  
man would not have more than one and a  
half or two miles to go.

This may perhaps not be the meaning, but  
in that case it is hard to see that the words  
mean anything. Possibly, as has been sus-  
pected, the text is imperfect: there may be  
something missing. In any case the words  
cannot, I think, bear the meaning which Mr.  
Dakyns (see however his note) and apparently  
Dindorf give them, that the workmen might  
'collect into one out of all the fortresses,'  
that is, collect from the fortresses to some  
one spot. Apart from the reasons given  
above and from the fact that, when the alarm  
was raised, the workmen would be in the  
mines, not in the fortresses, there are two  
other objections to this interpretation, on  
the second of which I will dwell a little,  
because it involves an important point of  
Greek.

First, there is no reason to think that *ἔργα*  
can mean the men, the *ἐργάται*. It is used  
three or four times in this treatise of the  
mines themselves, and no example of  
*ἔργα = ἐργάται* is adduced. Secondly, the  
'perfect' meaning of *ἦκω* is disregarded in  
this translation, a meaning which the present  
tense never really loses either in the simple  
verb or in its compounds. There are no  
doubt cases in which some scholars, Liddell  
and Scott for instance, seem to lose sight of  
it, but it is always there. When an inscrip-  
tion *διήκει* a statue (*Herod.* 2, 106, 3), when  
a ridge of hill *διήκει* a tract of country (*ib.*  
4, 185, 2), when parts of animals or plants

are described (Aristotle, Theophrastus) as *συνήκοντα*, we may translate the words well enough for ordinary purposes by *stretches* or *meeting*, but they really mean that man or nature *has* arranged, not *does* arrange things so. The inscription is not in the act of crossing, it has been made to cross—and now is across. *Διήκει* expresses the present state, not the present act. Observe Herodotus' account of the way in which Persian troops 'swept' an island (6, 31, 3): *ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορρῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην διήκουσι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*. Here *διήκουσι* is not strictly 'stretch themselves out' (Stein, *dehnen sich aus*) as an act, but 'stand stretched out across the island.' They have already taken up the position when Herodotus begins to describe. When Aristotle, *Poet.* 1459 b 22, says that epics would be of the right size if they *παρῆκουεν* to the length of a certain number of tragedies, *εἰ παρῆκουεν* similarly expresses their supposed condition, 'if they had been made so as to be of a certain length.' It is strange how Prof. Jebb can still (edn. of 1896) translate *Soph. Aj.* 186 *ἦκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος*, 'if the gods send madness, it must come.' The words really mean 'heaven must (may) have afflicted him': literally, we should find (*ἂν* with optative) that a *θεία νόσος* *ἦκει*. So on *O.T.* 1182 *τὰ πάντ' ἂν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ* Mr. Jebb himself says in his note 'must have come true.' So on *Ar. Wasps* 277 *τάχ' ἂν βουβωνίῳ* 'perhaps (we should find) he is laid up': *Peace* 43 *οὐκοῦν ἂν ἤδη τῶν θεατῶν τις λέγοι*, 'may be saying' (cf. *φησί* in 46): *Dem.* 23, 30 *περὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἂν λέγοι* 'he must be speaking about men convicted,' and *ib.* 45: Plato, *Phil.* 43 c. (in the same phrase as the *Ajax*) *πάλιν δ' νῦν δὴ ῥηθεὶς βίος ἂν ἦκοι* 'would seem to have returned upon us.' Even in the metaphorical uses of *προσῆκω* and *ἀνήκω* the proper meaning is distinctly traceable. It is only in the present infinitive *ἦκειν* and in the imperfect *ἦκον* that it is sometimes lost.

In X. therefore *συνήκοι ἂν* must describe some state of things that, when an enemy appeared on the scene, would already be in existence.

4, 48. *ἐπισιτιζέσθαι γε μὴν μέρει μὲν κίνδυνος καὶ περὶ τῶν μετιόντων καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται πάντες δὲ αἱ μετιόντες πολιορκοῦντ' ἂν μάλλον ἢ πολιορκοῖεν*.

Z., supposing with Schneider that *περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται* must stand, if right, for *περὶ τούτων οἱ ἀγωνίζονται*, suggests *περὶ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων*. But I take it that the foragers are themselves the *ἀγωνιζόμενοι*.

When they start to forage, they expect to fight. The words are therefore short for *περὶ τούτων περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται*, where *ὧν* may be either neuter or masculine.

4, 51. *πραχθέντων γε μὴν ὧν εἴρηκα σύμφημι ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ἂν χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ.*

*Σύμφημι* is meaningless where the proposa and the anticipation are put forward as entirely the writer's own. Read *φημί*. Does *συμ* represent *νῦν*?

4, 52. Greater wealth would produce greater efficiency: *οἱ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολὺ ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι οἱ τε φρουρεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

Editors and critics usually insert *τά* after *πρῶτον* (which may be right: cf. *ταῦτα πρῶτον* in the next sentence); they translate *ἢ than*, and sometimes think *γυμνασιαρχούμενοι* may be middle. I do not find any example of *γυμνασιαρχεῖν* or similar verbs (*τριηραρχεῖν*, *ταξιαρχεῖν*, etc.) in the middle, and the context surely makes it plain that men in training are meant. 'H *than* seems to yield no meaning. What would be the point of saying that with larger public revenues they would receive more pay than when training for the torch-race? The payment for that would rise along with the payment for other things. If *τά* is not necessary—and it can hardly be called so—we might perhaps interpret thus: they would do things more carefully, when being kept and trained under orders in the ordinary athletic exercises or the torch-race, if their keep or pay was raised. But I admit that the order of the words is against this.

5, 1. *πολὺ ἂν...προσφιλεστέραν καὶ πυκνότεραν εἰσαφικνεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειε τὴν πόλιν*.

'A more agreeable and crowded city to visit' seems almost nonsense, to say nothing of the fact that *πυκνή* = *πολυάνθρωπος* is very questionable. The phrase cannot mean, as Z. thinks, *εἰς ἣν πυκνότερον ἀφικνοῦνται*, 'more agreeable and one which they visit oftener.' He mentions the indifferent conjectures *προσσηεστέραν*, *ποθεινοστέραν*, *πιθανωτέραν* (his own), and might have added Madvig's *εὐκτοτέραν*, which is not less indifferent. By the insertion of a few letters we shall get *πολὺ κοινότεραν* (X.'s *πολύ* with a comparative: see above) or *πολυκοινότεραν*, a word used in *Ar. Eth.* 1, 9, 1099 b 18: *Soph. Aj.* 1192. Cf. *Cyneg.* 13, 9 *οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι πᾶσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι*: *Plat. Men.* 91 B *ἀποφάγαντας αἰτοῖς κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῷ βουλομένῳ μανθάνειν*.

5. 2. I do not know how to emend the corrupt words here, but Haupt's παρασκοπούσιν, adopted by Z., must be wrong. It would mean the adoption of a wrong method of enquiry, not the coming to a false conclusion, and the latter is the meaning needed. Haupt's hypothesis is moreover too complicated.

5. 3. Along with people who trade in corn, wine, oil, and cattle, he mentions others, οἱ δὲ γνώμη καὶ ἀργυρίῳ δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι, men who trade in money. The old idea seems to have been that γνώμη and ἀργυρίῳ were coupled together. Z. rightly demurring to this reads ἀπ' ἀργυρίου. Is there any objection to the traditional text, if we take γνώμη separately?—by means of superior intelligence the men trade or make profit in and with money. I have also thought of κἄν ἀργυρίῳ. Γνώμη is mentioned (cf. 4. 22) because money-dealing requires more intelligence than trade in corn or cattle.

5. 8. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ περιᾶσθαι διαλλάττειν τὸς πολεμούσας πρὸς ἀλλήλας πόλεις, ἔστι δὲ συναλλάττειν αἱ τινες ἐν αὐταῖς στασιάζουσιν.

I suspect X. wrote ἐν αὐτοῖς. Τινές are men, as elsewhere in this treatise (Z.'s *Dissertatio* p. 27), not states.

5. 12. γνώσεται...τὸς εἰσελθούσας (προσόδους) εἰς παντοδαπὰ πολλὰ καταδαπανηθείσας.

It is hardly likely that πολλὰ can be a gloss on παντοδαπὰ, as has been thought. Perhaps it stands for πολλαίς. Schneider πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ.

6. 2. ἐπερίσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη ἂν τῇ πόλει οὕτω κατασκευαζομένη.

It is surprising that editors can omit the ἂν. Here and in the two parallel passages in *R.L.* 8. 5 (where see my note) it is absolutely necessary. The question is as to the future, whether something if done would be advantageous. You can of course say 'Is it better to do so and so?', though

the doing it is still future; but you can hardly say 'To us doing so and so does' (instead of *will*) 'advantage accrue?' So in Greek ἂν would not be necessary with the infinitive (κατασκευάζεσθαι), but is necessary with the participle. If it is right to omit ἂν here, why should it not be omitted in the next sentence, ἐπερωτῶν τίνες θεῶν προσποιούμενοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα πράττομεν ἂν? The construction is just the same.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

[As regards 4. 52, I feel with Mr. Richards the difficulty in the order of the words, and venture to subjoin a suggestion of my own. Though I believe γυμνασιαρχεῖται to have a middle force in *Rep. Ath.* i. 13 ('gets the service performed'), it is clearly, as Mr. Richards says, passive here; and its meaning should be 'found, or provided for, by the gymnasiarchs,' just as οἱ παῖδες ἄριστα χορηγοῦνται means (as Liddell and Scott, *there* rightly, take it) 'the members of the chorus are well found by their choregus.'

But, to yield the required sense 'men in training in the ordinary athletic exercises, or in the torch race would do things more carefully if they were more liberally provided for' we need a second comparative, ἄμεινον γυμνασιαρχούμενοι (unless, which seems doubtful, it can be supplied from the preceding πλείω). But why should ἄμεινον have dropped out? May not the sentence have been originally a simpler one without the unnecessary antithesis of the two participles, and have run thus: πολλὸν ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον πράττοιεν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσιν ἄμεινον γυμνασιαρχούμενοι, the words τὴν τροφὴν πλείω ἀπολαμβάνοντες being merely a gloss to explain ἄμεινον γυμνασιαρχούμενοι?

G. E. MARINDIN.

#### OVID'S *HEROIDES*

(Continued from p. 290).

XVI 35-40.

Te peto, quam pepigit lecto Venus aurea nostro:

te prius optavi quam mihi nota fores.  
ante tuos animo uidi quam lumine uultus:

prima fuit uultus nuntia fama tui.

35

nec tamen est mirum si, sicut oporteat,  
arcu

missilibus telis eminus ictus amo. 40

Verse 38 is so given by P and G and most MSS: V (saec. xii) has 'prima mihi uultus'. The sense is poor, and the repetition of 'uultus', first plural, then singular, is poorer.



To all intents and purposes the verse has already been emended by Mr. Palmer: 'prima *mihi* *uulnus* nuntia fama *tulit*': see the metaphor of the next distich. But in writing *mihi* Mr. Palmer abandons better MSS for a worse, and in writing *tulit* he abandons all MSS: I would sooner follow them where they agree and desert them where they differ:

prima *tulit uulnus* nuntia fama tui.

'tui' depends on 'nuntia'. I suppose the archetype had

prima *tui* uultus nuntia fama tui,

and *uit* and *mihi* are alternative corrections of this manifest error.

From 38 to 145 all good ancient MSS fail us and leave us to the mercies of the 15th century. Accordingly the very next verse is corrupt. *oporteat* is not even grammar; the *oportuit actum* or *oportet ab arcu* of Heinsius has no sufficient sense; Bentley rightly expels the couplet and proposes *Apollinis* for *oporteat*, but I think the original form of the interpolation can be recovered with less ado:

nec tamen est mirum si, *sic cum polleat*  
*arcus*,  
missilibus telis eminus ictus amo.

Helen's beauty is a bow which discharges the arrows of love: no marvel the arrows fly so far when the bow is so potent. *sic cum* is corrupted to *sic ut* in Livy xxxviii 21 12 and I daresay elsewhere.

#### XVI 83, 84.

Dulce Venus risit 'nec te, Pari, munera  
tangant  
utraque suspensi plena timoris' ait.

It is possible that *nec* should be altered to *neu*; but Bentley alters it to *ne*, which is quite wrong: the asyndeton 'risit, ait' is not to be endured. Loers explains correctly that *nec* is *et non* and that the conjunction belongs to 'ait' and the negative to 'tangant': Venus risit et ait 'non te munera tangant'. He gives two Ovidian examples of this license, Madvig Lat. gramm. § 458 obs. 2 adds a third, and Haupt opusc. iii p. 512 a fourth: it is a natural sequel to Ovid's favourite practice of appending to the first word of a quotation a *que* which belongs to

the verb of speaking, as at met. iii 644 obstipui 'capiat' que 'aliquis moderamina' dixi. I will here give all the instances which I have noted down, marking the true construction by a grotesque employment of inverted commas.

Her. xvi 83 sq.

dulce Venus risit 'ne' c 'te, Pari,  
munera tangant  
utraque suspensi plena timoris' ait.

xxi 221 sq.

si me nunc uideas, uisam prius esse  
negabis  
'arte ne' c 'est' dices 'ista petenda  
mea'.

Met. v 414

agnouitque deam 'ne' c 'longius ibitis'  
inquit.

ix 131 sq.

excipit hunc Nessus, 'ne' que enim  
'moriemur inulti'  
secum ait.

i.e. etenim ait 'non moriemur inulti'.

x 568-570

instantem turbam uiolenta procorum  
condicione fugat 'ne' c 'sum potiunda  
nisi' inquit  
'uicta prius cursu'.

xi 134-137

Bacchus peccasse fatentem  
restituit pactique fide data munera  
soluit  
'ne' ue 'male optato maneat circum-  
litus auro,  
uade' ait 'ad magnis uicinum Sardibus  
annem'.

xi 263

tum demum ingemuit 'ne' que ait 'sine  
numine uincis'.

Fast. iv 597

Iuppiter hanc lenit factumque excusat  
amore  
'ne' c 'gener est nobis ille pudendus'  
ait.

In her. xii 202 Ovid takes one step further, and not content with breaking up *neque* into

et 'non' and *neue* into et 'ne' he breaks up  
quam into et 'hanc':

aureus ille aries uillo spectabilis alto  
dos mea, qu 'am' dicam si tibi  
'redde' neges.

i.e. aries est dos mea, et, si dicam tibi 'hanc  
redde', neges.

## XVI 121-123.

Et soror, effusus ut erat, Cassandra,  
capillis,  
cum uellent nostrae iam dare uela  
rates,  
'quo ruis?' exclamat.

122 'illud nostrae friget hoc loco' says  
Heinsius. One of the very few MSS which  
contain these verses omits it. It seems  
pretty clear then that *uento* or *uentis* has  
been absorbed by *uellent*.

## XVII 51, 52.

Et genus et proauos et regia nomina  
iactas.  
clara satis domus haec nobilitate sua  
est.

'et genus' is in most MSS; a few have  
*quod* or *quid*; but what one expects is a  
particle indicating that Helen, having just  
demolished one of Paris' arguments, is now  
passing to another. Well, P has *ea*: that is  
*ed*, the remains of *sed*.

## XVIII 65, 66.

Tu, dea, mortalem caelo delapsa petebas:  
uera loqui liceat, quam sequor ipse,  
dea est.

The words are right; but here as so often  
elsewhere the sense is spoilt by the punctua-  
tion of editors with their inveterate habit  
of mistaking nominatives for vocatives.  
Write

tu dea mortalem caelo delapsa petebas.

## XVIII 119-122.

Si qua fides uero est, ueniens huc esse  
natator,  
cum redeo, uideor naufragus esse  
mihi.

120

hoc quoque si credis, ad te uia prona  
uidetur,  
a te cum redeo, cliuius inertis aquae.

'If you believe me when I tell the truth,'  
says Leander, 'I assure you that in coming  
hither I seem to myself to be a swimmer, in  
returning, to be a shipwrecked man'. That  
one who is swimming seems to himself to be  
a swimmer is so very credible a statement  
that the preface 'si qua fides uero est' looks  
a trifle superfluous. But Leander apparently  
seems to himself to be a swimmer only when  
he is swimming 'huc', whatever that may  
mean: when he is swimming in the other  
direction he seems to himself to be not a  
swimmer but—a shipwrecked man. Then  
are swimmers never shipwrecked? are the  
shipwrecked never swimmers? why, Hero  
herself at xix 185 sq. remarks 'quod cupis,  
hoc nautae metuunt, Leandre, *natare*: | *ex-  
itus hic fractis puppibus esse solet*'! Of  
course they say that *natator* means one who  
swims for his own pleasure; but that is a  
pure fiction. And pray what is *huc*? to  
make sense it must mean 'to Sestos', yet  
how can it, when Leander is penning this  
letter at Abydos? And what diction is *cum  
redeo* 120, *a te cum redeo* 122! And what  
prosody is *credis ad*!

The author of this epistle simply wrote

si qua fides uero est, ad te uia prona  
uidetur,  
a te cum redeo, cliuius inertis aquae.

An interpolator added

hoc quoque si credis, ueniens huc esse  
natator,  
cum redeo, uideor naufragus esse  
mihi;

and the two couplets have exchanged their  
first hemistichs.

## XVIII 187-194.

Aestus adhuc tamen est. quid, cum mihi  
laeserit aequor  
Plas et Arctophylax Oleniumque  
pecus?  
aut ego non noui quam sim temerarius,  
aut me  
in freta non cautus tum quoque mit-  
tet amor.  
neue putes id me, quod abest, promittere  
tempus,  
pignora polliciti non tibi tarda dabo.

190

sit tumidum paucis etiam nunc noctibus  
aequor,  
ire per inuitas experiemur aquas.

191 'promittere id tempus' signifies nothing. Punctuate

neue putes id me, quod abest, promittere, tempus,

that is 'ne putes me eam rem promittere, quia tempus abest'.

Out of the immense number of Ovid's hyperbata I have selected ten of the most astounding in Journ. Phil. vol. xviii p. 7; but here I will confine myself to the heroides. Let me premise that there are always two methods, and never more than two, of punctuating an hyperbaton correctly. The second way in which this couplet may be correctly punctuated is to omit all the commas, 'neue putes id me quod abest promittere tempus | pignora' cet. Any third method will be incorrect; and therefore some third method is usually adopted.

Hyperbata recognised by the editors or at any rate correctly represented by their punctuation will be found at xvi 122, 132, xx 63 sq. (here Mr Ehwald is wrong, but it may be merely a misprint), and xxi 121.

Examples where most editors are wrong but some critics have recognised and expressed the true construction are the following.

### iii 19

si progressa forem, caperer ne nocte,  
timebam.

Thus Merkel Riese Sedlmayer and Palmer; so absurdly that Heinsius preferred to write *forte* for *nocte*. But Madvig, followed by Mr Ehwald, has restored the correct punctuation:

si progressa forem, caperer ne, nocte,  
timebam:

that is 'timebam ne, si nocte progressa forem, caperer'.

### vii 143 sq.

Pergama uix tanto tibi erant repetenda  
labore,

Hectore si uiuo, quanta fuere, forent.

So Riese and Sedlmayer, without sense.

Hectore si uiuo quanta fuere, forent.

So Merkel and Palmer, without construction. The meaning is 'si tanta forent, quanta

Hectore uiuo fuere': therefore the punctuation must be either that of Heinsius and Ehwald

Hectore si uiuo quanta fuere forent,

or else

Hectore, si, uiuo quanta fuere, forent.

### x 110

illic qui silices, Thesea, uincat, habes.

So the five modern editors. But the construction, as everyone must know, is 'illic habes Thesea, qui silices uincat'; so you must either write 'illic, qui' with Burmann or leave out all the commas with Heinsius.

Now I come to examples like xviii 191 where hyperbaton is hitherto unrecognised or at any rate unexpressed.

### iii 55 sq.

scilicet ut, quamuis ueniam dotata,  
repellas  
et mecum fugias, quae tibi dantur,  
opes.

So Heinsius Riese Sedlmayer and Ehwald, with a wrong sense.

et mecum fugias quae tibi dantur, opes.

So Merkel and Palmer, even worse. The construction is 'et opes, quae mecum dantur, fugias': therefore the punctuation must be either

et, mecum, fugias, quae tibi dantur,  
opes,

or else

et mecum fugias quae tibi dantur opes.

### xv 103 sq.

nil de te mecum est, nisi tantum iniuria; nec tu,  
admoneat quod te, munus amantis habes.

The reading *tu...te* for *te...tu* is the excellent and generally accepted correction of Burmann; and it is clear from his note that he quite understood the construction of the sentence: 'nec tu munus habes, quod te amantis admoneat'. But how to express this by punctuation he did not know; and he and all the editors print the passage thus, as if 'amantis' belonged to 'munus'. It should either be

nec tu,  
admoneat quod te, munus, amantis, habes,

or else all the commas between 'nec' and 'habes' should disappear.

xx 93 sq.

hoc quoque, cum ius sit, sit scriptum  
iniuria nostrum:  
quod de me solo nempe queraris,  
habes.

So the editors. But of course 'nempe' belongs to the principal verb, not to the relative clause: write

quod de me solo, nempe, queraris, habes,

or else omit the comma after 'queraris'.

Here I should like to add that the punctuation of ars ii 676 ascribed to me in the new Corpus Poetarum is the property of Heinsius and is not strictly correct. It should be

adde quod est illis operum prudentia  
maior,  
solus, et, artifices qui facit, usus adest;

for the construction is 'et usus adest, qui solus artifices facit.'

#### XIX 175-180.

Vt semel intrauit Colchos Pagasaeus  
Iason, 175  
impositam celeri Phasida puppe tulit.  
ut semel Idaeus Lacedaemona uenit  
adulter,  
cum praeda rediit protinus ille sua.  
tu, quam saepe petis quod amas, tam  
saepe relinquis,  
et, quotiens graue fit puppibus ire,  
natas. 180

'You swim, whenever it becomes troublesome to sail'. What in the world is supposed to be the meaning of this? Does Leander sail in fair weather and swim only in foul? Quite the reverse: he swims in fair weather and only in foul does he begin to think about sailing, xviii 11. But suppose it were so: what have such words to do with the context?

Nemo omnibus horis sapit, not even Nicolaus Heinsius: it was he who adopted the *fit* of P and G and A: his father read *sit* with V, and so did Bentley. But our modern editors, who take little notice of Heinsius when he is scattering pearls and diamonds, are quite willing to make amends by following him where he is wrong, and

they all print this *fit*: it is in P, P is the best MS, scientific criticism consists in adhering to the best MS: if it gives sense be thankful; if none, never mind.

The meaning of the true text,

et, quotiens graue *sit* puppibus ire,  
natas,

is this: 'tot facis natationes, quot uelificationes facere graue sit': 'quotiens' belongs not to 'sit' but to 'puppibus ire'. Leander swims to and fro with such frequency that even to *sail* with the same frequency would be a toil and a trouble. He is therefore much unlike to Paris and Iason.

#### XX 13-16.

Nunc quoque idem timeo, sed idem  
tamen acrius illud:  
adsumpsit uires auctaque flamma  
mora est.  
quique fuit numquam paruus nunc tem-  
pore longo  
et spe, quam dederas tu mihi, creuit  
amor.

*idem timeo* stultifies the whole passage: the required sense is unmistakable, *idem cupio*; and *cupio* Bentley conjectures. But write

nunc quoque <auemus> idem, sed idem  
tamen acrius illud.

*a* is merely *q* without a tail: hence the two letters are pretty often confounded, and you find for instance *eadem* interchanged with *equidem* (*eqdem*). Therefore *auem* is easily mistaken for *quem* and easily lost after *-que*.

#### XX 175-180.

Hoc faciente subis tam saeua pericula  
uitae; 175  
atque utinam pro te, qui mouet illa,  
cadat.  
quem si reppuleris nec, quem dea dam-  
nat, amaris,  
et tu continuo, certe ego saluus ero.  
siste metum, uirgo: stabili potiere  
salute,  
fac modo polliciti conscia templa  
colas. 180

On the chaos of 177-179 the first ray of light has been thrown by Mr Ehwald, who has recognised that the apodosis to 'si reppuleris nec amaris' is in 179 and that 178 is

parenthetical. I will neglect for a moment the contents of 178 and will give the gist of the passage to clear the way for their discussion: 'it is the suit of my rival which endangers your life: heaven send that he may perish instead. If you will reject him, and refuse to favour one on whom Diana frowns, then—fear no more, maiden—then will sound health be yours, do you but revere the temple which heard your vow.'

Now *certe*, to begin with, is unmetrical. The elision of a long syllable in the latter half of a pentameter occurs nowhere else in either Ovid or his imitators; and even the 'non ut ames oro, *uerum ut amare sinas*' of xv 96 is easily amended by Heinsius to *me sed*, which fell out after *mesoro*. Secondly, *certe* perverts the sense: 'and you will be well forthwith, at any rate I shall' (even if you are not). If Cydippe is not well, neither can Acontius be, for 'iuncta salus nostra est,' says he at 233 sq., 'miserere meique tuique: | quid dubitas unam ferre duobus opem?' Thirdly, the MSS vary: P does not contain these verses, G omits *tu* and adds it at the end of the line, cod. Bernensis 478 (saec. xiii) has *tunc* (*te*) instead of it. I would write

(continuo *per te* <*tunc*> ego saluus ero)

'straightway, thanks to you, my welfare will be secured': see 233 sq. already cited and also 186 'teque simul serua meque datamque fidem'. *te* fell out after *te* and was inserted before *continuo* with *et* to eke out the verse. *per te* is corrupted to *certe* at Prop. ii 18 29 and Sen. Herc. Oet. 1799. The parenthesis, anticipating as it does the contents of the next line, is not at all to be admired; but it is no worse than iii 30 'uenerunt ad te Telamone et Amyntore nati | ...Laertaque satus, per quos comitata redirem | (auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces) | uiginti fuluos operoso ex aere lebetas' cet.

#### XX 197-198.

Non agitur de me: cura maiore laboro:  
anxia sunt uitae pectora nostra tuae.

Neither P nor G contains these lines, and the oldest MS which does contain them, A (saec. xi-xii), has *uita...tua*; and the ablative is received into the text by Messrs Riese and Sedlmayer, though I do not know what they suppose it to mean. I conjecture

anxia sunt *causu* pectora nostra tua,

For this confusion compare Cic. pro Clu. 59 164 'habetis, iudices, quae in totam *causam* de moribus A. Cluentii...accusatores collegunt', where one family of MSS has *uitam*, and Ovid her. vi 54 'milite tam forti *causa* tuenda fuit', which is Merkel's correction for *uita*.

#### XXI 55-58.

Dic mihi nunc, solitoque tibi ne decipe  
more:  
quid facies odio, sic ubi amore nocet?  
si laedis quod amas, hostem sapienter  
amabis.  
me precor, ut serues, perdere uelle  
uelis.

58 'locus manifeste corruptus' says Heinsius; and I have never seen any real defence of *uelle uelis*. Burmann absurdly quotes am. iii 11 50 'me quoque uelle uelis' where the subject of 'uelle' is 'me'. A much more learned and able attempt is Markland's in his *Remarks on the Epistles of Brutus*, pp. 85-9: he quotes from Cicero and Livy six examples of *nolite uelle*, and Ruhnken adds one of *noli uelle* from Nepos. But these are all imperatives: now the verb 'nolo' in the imperative loses its proper force and merely prohibits. Markland himself thinks that *nolite uelle* will not justify *nolite nolle*: neither, I think, will it justify *nolis uelle*, still less *uelis uelle*. The nearest parallels I know of are met. x 132 '*uelle mori statuit*' and Catull. 93 1 '*nil nimum studeo, Caesar, tibi uelle placere*'; and these are inadequate. I believe therefore that Heinsius is right in requiring a vocative instead of *uelle*. He proposes *dure*;<sup>1</sup> but Acontius does not mean to injure Cydippe, he injures her without meaning it; so it is not only easier but apter to write

me precor, ut serues, perdere, *laeus*,  
uelis.

*laeus* is a blunderer, a man who when he shoots at a pigeon invariably kills a crow: the best way for him to make Cydippe well will be to wish her ill. Probably in the sequence *leueuelis* one *eu* was omitted, then added overhead, then inserted wrongly, *ueleuelis*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Marindin suggests *dire*, which gives a fitting sense. Either word would readily fall out after *-dere*, but I do not know if *uelle* would readily occur to the scribe for a stopgap.



## XXI 205, 206.

Si mihi lingua foret, tu nostra iustius  
ira,  
qui mihi tendebas retia, dignus eras.

Cydippe has been telling Acontius how coldly and rudely she treats his rival: then come these lines, 'locus corruptus', as Heinsius says: 'si mihi lingua foret' is a truly amazing irrelevancy; and besides, she has a tongue. Gronovius proposed 'si me digna forem', and van Lennep 'si mens aequa foret': the latter is just the sense required but the words are these:

*mens nisi iniqua foret, tu nostra cet.*

*mensi* is much like *mihisi*, and *iniqua* is almost the same as *lingua*.

## XXI 237, 238.

Vnde tibi fauor hic? nisi quod noua  
forte reperta est  
quae capiat magnos littera lecta deos.

Cydippe is not saying that such a 'littera' has really been invented: she mentions the notion as barely conceivable; so 'quod reperta est' is wrong. Two of our scanty authorities give *nisi forte noua reperta est*. Write

*nisi* <si> noua forte reperta est cet.

Compare iv 111 '*nisi si manifesta negamus*' Heinsius, *nisi* P, *nisi nos* the other MSS;

Mart. ii 8 7 '*quasi si manifesta negemus*' Heinsius, *quae si* some MSS, *quasi nos* others.

## VI 139, 140.

Lemniadum facinus culpo, non miror,  
Iason.  
quamlibet iratis ipse dat arma dolor.

*iratis* is not in P, which has nothing between *quamlibet* and *ipse*: it is added by the second hand and occurs also in a few other MSS. G and most MSS have *quamlibet* (or *quaelibet* or *quodlibet*) *ad facinus*, which is unmetrical and evidently interpolated from the hexameter. *iratis* gives almost the reverse of the sense required, but for that very reason is probably a relic of the truth and no interpolation. Bentley and J. F. Heusinger proposed *infirmis*, comparing am i 7 66 '*quamlibet infirmas adiuvat ira manus*'; and this is accepted by Sedlmayer Ehwald and Palmer. Then, when *ipse* has been altered with Madvig to *iste* or *ille*, the sense is altogether satisfactory.

But there is another word which has as good a sense, as good a parallel, and more likeness to *iratis*:

quamlibet *ignauis* iste dat arma dolor.

See Cato monostich. 23 (P.L.M. Baehr. iii p. 237) quoted by Heinsius: '*quamlibet ignauum facit indignatio forem*'.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## THE QUOTATION FROM GENESIS IN THE DE SUBLIMITATE (IX. 9).

In the ninth chapter of the *De Sublimitate* the following passage occurs: ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὗχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κατέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράφας τῶν νόμων 'εἶπεν ὁ θεός· φησί· τί; γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο.' Similarly, the legislator of the Jews, no ordinary man, having formed and expressed a worthy conception of the might of the Godhead, writes at the very beginning of his book of laws, 'God said'—what? 'Let light be, and it was: let earth be, and it was.'

The passage is at once a celebrated and (like the treatise in which it is found) a somewhat neglected one. It seems, there-

fore, to require, and it will certainly repay, a brief discussion with special reference to the doubts which scholars have at various times cast upon its authenticity. Among the doubters have been Franciscus Portus in the sixteenth century, Daniel Wytttenbach in the eighteenth, and Leonhard Spengel<sup>1</sup> and Louis Vaucher<sup>2</sup> in our own century. The views of the two last critics invite particular attention, and it will be convenient to consider those of Vaucher first.

Vaucher's judgment, upon this point as

<sup>1</sup> Specimen Emendationum in Cornelium Tacitum. Monachii, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Études Critiques sur le Traité du Sublime et sur les Écrits de Longin. Genève, 1854.

upon others, is somewhat warped by his prepossessions. His object, throughout his ingenious but unconvincing book, is to prove that Plutarch is the author of the *De Sublimitate*. And with this theory the quotation from *Genesis* but ill accords, in view of Plutarch's general attitude towards the Jews and of the absence of any direct reference to the Jewish scriptures in his accepted works. This preoccupation led Vaucher to emphasize unduly the fact that the passage is not found in the Paris MS. 2036. The Codex Parisinus (P) belongs to the tenth century and is, beyond comparison, the best of the existing manuscripts of the *Περὶ ὕψους*. But it has suffered mutilation, not in this part only, but unfortunately in several others. It is here, however, that the largest gap occurs, one which marks the loss of as much as one quaternion (that signed KE) out of a total of seven. But of the eight leaves thus missing from P, two (the first and the last) have been preserved in the remaining MSS., which are usually held to be copies derived, directly or indirectly, from P at a time when it still retained the two leaves. The first leaf is represented, in all the editions of the *De Sublimitate*, by the words *ὡς κἀν τοῖς περὶ Ξενοφώντος*.....*ἐγὼ μὲν ἠγκέσθην* (viii. 1-ix. 4), and the eighth by the words *τὸ ἐπ' οὐρανὸν*.....*ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεσθαι* (ix. 4-ix. 10). Now it is in ix. 9 that the passage in question occurs; or to speak more correctly, the short section 9 consists of it and of it alone.

I have said that the two leaves, thus preserved, appear in all the editions of the *De Sublimitate*. This is true of that of Vaucher himself. He prints the words they contain in full. Section 9, however, he places in brackets. And yet, as far as manuscript authority goes, that section stands or falls with those other sections which rest upon the same evidence. And all these are so characteristic in themselves, and fit so perfectly into their context, that it is impossible to doubt their authenticity. They begin with an enumeration of the five sources of that elevated style which is the theme of the treatise, and they end by giving the larger half of an extract from Homer of which the concluding words (*ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλεσσαν*) appear duly at the point where P resumes.<sup>1</sup>

Spengel's attitude is more consistent. He too brackets the passage (*Rhetores Graeci*, i. pp. xvi. and 255). But it is noteworthy that,

although he was the first editor to place the textual criticism of the *De Sublimitate* on a satisfactory footing by recognising the pre-eminence of P, Spengel does not reject the words on the ground of insufficient documentary support. It is not the external, but the internal evidence, that causes him to regard the section as an interpolation. The words do not seem to him to be at home in their surroundings. He would no doubt have agreed with F. A. Wolf, whom however he does not quote, that they seem to have 'fallen from the skies.'<sup>2</sup>

But a glance at the context will show that the degree of abruptness with which the passage is introduced has been greatly exaggerated, and certainly need awaken little surprise when found in a work which is by no means free from digression and parenthesis. And in truth the abruptness would in some respects be greater if the passage were away. The general subject of the ninth chapter is nobility of nature as a source of lofty diction. Quoting one of his own best things in a rather off-hand manner, like a true critic, the author says at the beginning of the chapter: 'In some other place I have written to this effect: "Sublimity is the echo of a great soul."' (*γέγραφα πον καὶ ἐτέρῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα*, ix. 2.) This train of thought he illustrates chiefly, but not entirely, from Homer. Outside Homer, there is in the sections we possess (and it must be remembered that six leaves are missing) a reference to a celebrated saying of Alexander, and another to a poem attributed to Hesiod. It is important to notice these particulars because the critics have sometimes spoken as if the whole chapter were filled with Homer. And when the Homeric passages come, they have a certain unity; they all speak of manifestations of the divine power under various shapes; they end with a reference to the divine greatness and purity, and the divine control over the elements. Into this unity the passage from *Genesis* enters naturally, and after it there comes, by a similarly natural transition, a reference to the deeds of heroic *men* as depicted in Homer. 'In his poem, the battle of the Greeks is suddenly veiled by mist and baffling night. Then Ajax, at his wits' end, cries: 'Father Zeus, do thou deliver us, the sons of the Achaeans, from the gloom, and make clear day, and grant us the vision of our eyes;

<sup>1</sup> I should perhaps mention here that I have recently had an opportunity of examining P 2036 for myself in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>2</sup> F. A. Wolf, *Vorlesungen über die Alterthumswissenschaft*, i. 330: 'Diese Stelle fällt wie vom Himmel hinein.'

and if thou must slay, slay in the light."<sup>1</sup> Now Spengel would have us believe that section 9 is but a marginal comment—the work of some Christian or Jew—on Ajax' call for light, as quoted in section 10. We cannot deny that such a gloss, singularly inept though it would be, might conceivably have been entered in the margin, and from thence transferred into the text at the wrong point. But to this doubly improbable possibility most impartial judges will prefer the likelihood that the passage stands where it was first placed. And it may be added that the hand of the author of the Treatise seems clearly revealed in minute points of wording, such as the *ταύτη καί* (cp. ix. 4) with which the passage is introduced.<sup>2</sup>

Another objection raised, on internal grounds, to the quotation is that it is not only *unexpected* but *inexact*. The first portion of the divine fiat differs slightly, and the second differs altogether, from the original as we know it. The question, indeed, suggests itself whether the passage can—with reference to any original known to us—properly be described as 'a quotation' at all. It reproduces the substance rather than the precise form of three verses at the beginning of *Genesis*. The verses may be transcribed here from the latest text of the Septuagint version, though we ought not to take it for granted that the author had that version in his mind or before his eyes, nor yet that he is echoing a Hebrew text in every way identical with ours. I. 3: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Γενήθῃτω φῶς· καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. I. 9: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὁφθήτω ἡ ξηρὰ· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. 10: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν.<sup>3</sup> Such 'conflations' are not unnatural when words are quoted from memory, and they are specially common in our author. Two examples, in which lines from different books of the *Iliad* are combined, will be found in sections 6 and 8 of this very chapter. The whole treatise is, it need hardly be recalled, a small treasury of extracts taken from the most various authors, —Sappho and Thucydides on the one hand, Aratus and Timaeus on the other. There is,

<sup>1</sup> ix. 10: ἀλλὰς ἄφνω καὶ νύξ ἀπορος αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπέχει μάχην· ἔνθα δὲ ὁ Αἴας ἀμυχανῶν Ζεῦ πάτερ, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ σὺ βῦσαι ὑπ' ἥρος υἱας Ἀχαιῶν, ποίησον δ' αἰθρην, δὲ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι· ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ἄλυσσον.

<sup>2</sup> The contextual evidence, for and against the passage, is succinctly set forth by Giovanni Canna, *Della Sublimità: Libro attribuito a Cassio Longino*. Firenze, 1871. Pp. 18, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Or should we see a reflection of i. 3, 6, rather than of i. 3, 9, 10?

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therefore, abundant opportunity of observing the writer's habits of citation.<sup>4</sup> And it has been suggested that, here as elsewhere, he has been influenced, unconsciously no doubt, by his love of rhythm and parallelism:—

γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο.  
γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο.<sup>5</sup>

But this and all similar suggestions, however interesting, must be subject to the reservation that we do not know the exact nature of the source upon which the author is drawing.

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the more inexact the quotation, the less reason will there be for regarding the passage as an interpolation. Only a Jew, or a Christian, would have been likely to interpolate it, and Jew or Christian would have done the work with care and accuracy. Besides, such an interpolator would hardly have been content with describing Moses as 'no ordinary man.' Altogether, the arguments in favour of the theory of interpolation seem weak and precarious. The manuscript attestation is adequate; the passage harmonises with the context; the freedom in quotation is like our author and unlike an interpolator.

It remains, however, to glance at certain difficulties, of an *à priori* nature, which have been thought to attend this reference to the Jewish lawgiver in the work of a Greek writer. And we are thus brought face to face with the question of the authorship, and the date, of the *De Sublimitate*. We have hitherto spoken vaguely of 'the author,' and it will be best still to do so. It is a choice between so doing and using some such designation as 'Longinus' (in inverted commas) or even *Pseudolonginus*. I hope elsewhere to discuss in detail the difficult problem of the authorship, but I am afraid that, with the evidence at present within reach, we cannot do more than acquiesce in the inscription which, in one of the manuscripts, attributes the treatise to an 'anonymous' writer. However, the views currently held upon the matter may be, roughly but conveniently, ranged under two heads. The treatise belongs either to: (A) the third century and Longinus, Queen Zenobia's minister; or to (B) the first century and some unknown writer. What peculiar

<sup>4</sup> Cp. H. Hersel, *Qua in citandis scriptorum et poetarum locis auctor libelli περὶ ὕψους usus sit ratione*. Berlin, 1884.

<sup>5</sup> J. Freytag, *De anonymi περὶ ὕψους sublimi genere dicendi*. Hildesheim, 1897. P. 77.

difficulties, then, are presented by the passage upon the first of these suppositions, and upon the second? For upon both suppositions alike difficulties have been felt and urged.

It has already been mentioned that Portus (1511-1581 A.D.) was the first scholar to express misgivings with regard to the authenticity of the section. In his day, and for long afterwards, the traditional ascription of the treatise to the historical Longinus was undisputed. But Portus thought it unlikely that the Longinus of history would be acquainted with the Jewish scriptures. In this view he has not found many to follow him. For was not Longinus a pupil of the leading Neoplatonists at Alexandria, and has not he himself ranked 'Paul of Tarsus' high in the hierarchy of Greek oratorical genius?<sup>1</sup>

But this is not all, for the commentator Schurzfleisch of Wittenberg has provided us with an independent suggestion, with the design of removing the difficulty, if difficulty there be. In view of the wider acceptance which Schurzfleisch's suggestion has gained since an earlier date has been claimed for the Treatise, it is important to observe that it was made by him as far back as the year 1711, when no one had begun to doubt that Longinus was the author. His words are worth quoting: 'Longinus fortasse non tam septuaginta seniores legit, quam hoc exemplum a Caecilio rhetore, qui τὴν δόξαν Ἰουδαίος σοφὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικά vocatur a Suida, mutuatus est.'<sup>2</sup> He thus threw out the pregnant hint that the illustration may have been taken, not directly from the Septuagint, but from Caecilius. Caecilius, the rhetorician of Calacte and the contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is described, in Suidas' biographical notice of him, as 'in faith a Jew.'<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, quite possible, as Schurzfleisch saw, that the author, whose Treatise takes a similar work by Caecilius as its starting-point, may have borrowed this Hebraic illustration of sublimity from

him. Thus viewed, the extract may be regarded as a vague recollection, and reproduction, of Caecilius. The suggestion is now generally accepted. But while the theory may be regarded as highly probable, we ought, I think, to recognise that the author's general conception of Moses does not seem to be entirely based upon this fragment of his writings. The very words 'no ordinary man' seem to imply some independent knowledge extending beyond this isolated quotation. The writer possesses the general knowledge that he is dealing with 'the Jewish lawgiver,' whose actual name seemingly he does not think his readers will require. He possesses also the particular knowledge that the passage is to be found 'at the very beginning of his laws.' It may further be noted that he appears to direct special attention to the sublimity of the passage by his somewhat rhetorical use of the interrogative pronoun in introducing it.

There can be no doubt, however, that the traditional view that Longinus was the author is steadily losing ground. Scepticism first commenced at the beginning of this century, in the year 1808, when Amati directed attention to the fact that manuscript authority pointed not to 'Dionysius Longinus' as the author, but rather to 'Dionysius or Longinus.' Into the details of the controversy that followed we cannot here enter. Enough to say that the best critical opinion now attributes the work to some writer, yet to be identified, of the first century, and that the passage under review must, if its authenticity is to be placed beyond question, be shown not to be inconsistent with that supposition. At this point the likelihood of the author's obligation in this as in other matters to Caecilius, who flourished in the time of Augustus, comes again to our aid; and the likelihood is perhaps all the greater if the author followed him closely in time as well as in general treatment. But independently of this, it would not be difficult to show that the Graeco-Roman world of the first century was no stranger to the history and the antiquities of the Jews.<sup>4</sup>

Wolf, indeed, in a passage already cited, admitted this. He thought that the section was probably a gloss by a Christian, though he would not expel it from the text, especially as the text itself was so fragmentary. But he states expressly that he does not

<sup>1</sup> The reference of course is to the fragment (if it is to be regarded as genuine) given, e.g., by Vaucher, *Etudes*, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Schurzfleischius, *Animadversiones ad Dionysii Longini περὶ ὕψους commentationem*. Vitembergae, 1711. P. 23.

<sup>3</sup> For Caecilius reference may be made to Théodore Reinach, *Quid Judaeo cum Verre* (in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, xxvi., 36-46) and to F. Caccialanza, *Caecilio da Calatte e l'Ellenismo a Roma nel secolo d' Augusto* (in *Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica*, xviii. 1-73). An article, by the present writer, on *Caecilius of Calacte: a contribution to the history of Greek Literary Criticism*, will be found in the current number (71) of the *American Journal of Philology*.

<sup>4</sup> This point was emphasized (*Philologus* I. pp. 630, 631: year 1846) by G. Roeper, who also identified, from the Venice Scholia to the Iliad, the Ammonius mentioned in c. xiii.



base his scepticism on the inherent improbability of any reference to Moses. The name of Moses, as he remarks, occurs even in Strabo's writings; and he might have added, in those of Diodorus Siculus and earlier writers still.<sup>1</sup>

The question of early references to, or quotations from, the Old Testament in Greek writers deserves more attention than it seems hitherto to have received. The late Dr. Edwin Hatch's 'Essay on Early Quotations from the Septuagint' does not profess to be more than its title implies. Professor Ryle's 'Philo and Holy Scripture' is exhaustive within its field; but the example it sets needs perhaps to be followed in other directions. In his introduction Prof. Ryle states with truth that 'Philo's testimony to the Septuagint text has the twofold value of being earlier, by more than two centuries, than our earliest extant MS.; and of being derived from a non-Christian, a Graeco-Judaic, source, separate in time and character from the great mass of other evidence.' The section we are discussing (especially if we are right in conjecturing that Caecilius is its parent) possesses a somewhat parallel interest, an interest which is in some respects not less but greater because of the want of exact correspondence between the passage and any originals known to us.

It is important to notice not only the words contained in the section, but also the way in which they are introduced. They are attributed to *ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεομοθέτης*, a designation which corresponds closely with the words (*ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης Μωϋσῆς*) with which Philo himself introduces a quotation from the opening of *Genesis*. Further, they are said to be found 'in the very beginning of the laws.' Similarly, Philo denotes the Pentateuch by the term of *νόμοι*, though he more commonly refers to it as *ὁ νόμος* or *ἡ νομοθεσία*.<sup>2</sup>

But the resemblances which the Treatise affords with the writings of Philo do not end with this passage. In the concluding chapters, the author expresses his desire 'to clear up a question which a philosopher re-

cently started in conversation with me.'<sup>3</sup> The question was the dearth of high natures and high utterance in that age, and the explanation, suggested the philosopher, was to be found in the decline of the spirit of freedom. 'To-day, he went on, we seem in our boyhood to learn the lessons of a righteous servitude, being all but swathed, when our thoughts are yet young and tender, in its customs and observances, and without a taste of the fairest and most animating source of eloquence (by which, he added, I mean freedom), so that we emerge in no other guise than that of sublime flatterers. This is the reason, he maintained, why no slave ever becomes an orator, although all other faculties may belong to menials. In the slave there immediately burst out signs of fettered liberty of speech, of the dungeon as it were, of a man habituated to buffetings.' (*οἱ δὲ νῦν εἰκόμην' ἔφη παιδομαθεῖς εἶναι δουλείας δικαίας, τοῖς αὐτῆς ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ἔτι φρονημάτων μόνον οὐκ ἐνεσπαργανόμενοι καὶ ἀγενστοὶ καλλίστου καὶ γονιμωτάτου λόγων νάματος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν' ἔφη 'λέγω, διόπερ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κόλακες ἐκβαίνονμεν μεγαλοφνεῖς'. διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔξεις καὶ εἰς οἰκέτας πίπτειν ἔφασκεν, δοῦλον δὲ μηδένα γίνεσθαι ῥήτορα· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀναεῖν τὸ ἀπαρρησίαστον καὶ οἷον ἐμφρουρον ὑπὸ συνηθείας αἰεὶ κεκονδυλισμένον. *De Sublim.* xliv. 3, 4). Now this passage will be found to present some remarkable points of resemblance, in thought and wording, with a passage of Philo which deserves full quotation: *ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τεθαύμακα, εἰ πεφορημένος καὶ μεγάς ὄχλος, ἔθων καὶ νόμων τῶν ὁπωσοῦν εἰσηγμένων ἀκλεῖς δοῦλος, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔτι σπαργάνων ὑπακούειν ὡς ἂν δεσποτῶν ἢ τυράννων ἐκμαθὼν, κατακεκονδυλισμένος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος πιστεῦναι τοῖς ἀπαξ παραδοθείσι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἑάσας ἀγύμναστον ἀδιερευνήτοις καὶ ἀνεξετάστοις συναυέσεσσι τε καὶ ἀρήσεισι χρῆται. (Philo, *De Ebrietate*, 198: vol. ii., p. 208, in Cohn and Wendland's edition, 1896-97).<sup>4</sup> Similarly, but not so convincingly, τῇδε**

<sup>3</sup> *ἐκεῖνο μέντοι λοιπὸν.....διασαφῆσαι, Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε, ὅπερ ἐζήτησέ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων πρὸς ἐμὲ ἑναγχος. xliv. 1.—πρὸς ἐμὲ ἑναγχος* is Cobet's reading, in place of *προσέναντος* as given by P. But there is reason to doubt whether a change is necessary, and with a view to the possible solution of the vexed question of the authorship it is better not to allow even slight deviations from P to pass unnoticed.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Jacob Bernays (after Ruhnken) in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I., pp. 347-356; Hans von Arnim, *Quellenstudien zu Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 66 and 120.—One cannot help suggesting that Philo himself may conceivably have been the φιλόσοφος into whose mouth the words in the *De Sublimitate* are put.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, pp. 14 ff.; Pape-Benseler, *Grichische Eigennamen*, p. 969; J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, ii., pp. 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ryle, l.c., pp. xix., xx.—Reference should also be made to passages quoted by Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs, etc.*, pp. 18, 82, 361. The first passage is of special interest, particularly if the very early date claimed for it is correct. In it the end of 'the laws' seems to mean the end of *Leviticus*: *προσγέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἀκούσας τοῦ θεοῦ τὰδε λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.*



κάκεισε ἀγχιστρόφως ἀντισπόμενοι (*De Subl.* xxii. 1) may be compared with ἀνθελκόμενος πρὸς ἑκατέρου μέρους ὡς κάκεισε (Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, iii., p. 678). And the likeness is seen in single words as well as in clauses. In the section just quoted from the *De Sublimitate*, we note the Philonic word εἰρμός, and others elsewhere such as ἐπάλ-ληλος, κατασκελετεύω, προκόσμημα, μαγειρείον, προσυπογράφειν. And let it be added here that the word τὸ γλωττόκομον, used of a 'cage' in *De Subl.* xlv. 5, has a distinct affinity with the Septuagint, and also (at a later date) with Aquila, of additions to whose fragments we have lately had welcome tidings.

The points of contact between the author of the *περὶ ὕψους* and the Jews are not, however, confined even to Moses, Caecilius, and Philo. There is also Josephus, who has referred to Moses in terms almost identical with those used in ix. 9. His words are: ἤδη τοῖνυν τοὺς ἐντευζομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῷ προσανέχειν, καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἀξιώως κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνέθηκε, πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἄλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθολογίας, καίτοι γε, ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ παλαιότητι, πολλὴν ἔχων ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων (*Fl. Josephus, Antiqq. Iud.*, Proem.—The resemblance in the spaced words will be seen to be a close one). There is also Theodorus, mentioned in *De Subl.* iii. 5, who had possibly been one of the author's teachers in rhetoric, and who himself sprang from Gadara in Syria.<sup>1</sup> And it is hardly necessary to add that the conquest of Judaea by Pompey, and the provision by Alexandria of a common meeting-ground for Jews, Greeks, and Romans, must have multiplied points of contact in ways altogether unknown to us.

Mommsen, indeed, goes so far as to suggest that the author may himself possibly have been a Jew. He speaks of the Treatise as one of the finest works of literary criticism surviving from antiquity, as written in the early days of the empire by an unknown

author, and as the production, if not of a Jew, yet of a man who revered Moses and Homer in equal measure (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V. 494). But against this tentative suggestion of Jewish origin must be weighed the general tone and character of ix. 9, and the fact that in xii. 4, when about to compare Cicero and Demosthenes, the author uses the words, 'if we as Greeks are at liberty to form an opinion upon the point.'<sup>2</sup> If a Jew, he must have been a most highly Hellenised Jew.

Before concluding this short paper, I should like to add that I have designedly abstained from ascertaining whether the passage, in its various bearings, has been the subject of recent discussion in the literature more especially connected with theology. I am, however, informed, by a theologian of eminence, that the section has been somewhat neglected in recent years, because of the doubts entertained as to both the authorship of the Treatise and the authenticity of the passage. If this is so, it seems a matter for some regret. I do not know that the section possesses any special evidential value, but it certainly has a distinct interest of its own. That interest is not less but greater if we find ourselves driven to assign the *De Sublimitate* to the first rather than to the third century of our era. And as to the authenticity of the passage, no doubt on that score will, I think, be harboured by any theologian, however scrupulously anxious he may be not to subordinate truth to apologetics, if only he will examine the evidence for himself and will remember further that scholars so distinguished as Bergk<sup>3</sup> and Bernays<sup>4</sup> uphold the passage as genuine, and that the two standard modern editions<sup>5</sup> of the *De Sublimitate* print it as an integral part of the text.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

<sup>2</sup> xii. 4: εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἑλλήσιν ἐφεῖται τι γινώσκειν.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, iv., 553 n. 52.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bernays, *Ges. Abh.*, I. 353, 4.

<sup>5</sup> The critical editions of Lahn-Vahlen (Bonn, 1887) and of Spengel-Hammer *Rhetores Gracii*, I. 2, Leipzig, 1894. In the latter, Hammer has deliberately removed the brackets in which Spengel, the original editor (1853), enclosed the passage.

<sup>1</sup> Sueton., *Tib.*, 57; Quintil., *Instil. Oral.*, iii. 1, 17.

## THE PORCIAN COINS AND THE PORCIAN LAWS.

ALTHOUGH coins are of very great value in the reconstruction of the foreign department in the constitutional history of Rome, there are not many which throw light on points of detail connected with the legal changes in the city itself. Hence the interest attaching to the two well-known types struck by members of the Porcian house. They record a revolution of some kind in the criminal law effected by the coiners or their forefathers; they preserve the memory of an extension of the right of appeal or of the prohibition of a magistrate to scourge a citizen—both of them changes vaguely indicated by our literary authorities and attached to the names of Porcii. But here our direct knowledge ends. Neither the coins nor the laws can be dated; the types of the former are indeterminate and no literary authority tells us the exact work accomplished by the latter. The explanations hitherto given by modern authorities of the correspondence of the two are vague and seem to me to be, on historical and legal grounds, unsatisfactory. Although it is almost impossible to establish certain conclusions where direct evidence is so slight, I shall venture to suggest a hypothesis as to the result effected by at least one of these laws which, while it is the only one which fits the symbolic representation on the most significant of the coins, is also in harmony with the few literary notices of the Porcian legislation.

If we appeal first to the coins, we find that one of the types may be briefly dismissed as wholly indeterminate. It is furnished by *denarii* which contain the legend *Roma* with the triumvir's name 'M. Porc[ius] Laeca'; on the reverse is Liberty holding a cap and sceptre and crowned by Victory, in a *quadriga* galloping to the right. The coin cannot be dated, and all that we can say is that this type is an obvious allusion to some Porcian law or laws which either extended the *provocatio* or prohibited some kind of punishment from being inflicted on the citizen.

But the other type goes into some detail and gives us a vivid picture of the working of some great protective law. This too is furnished by *denarii* which contain the legend *Roma* with a 'P. Laeca' as the triumvir. But the reverse shows us a warrior clad in a cuirass, armed with a sword and accompanied by a lictor who carries the *fusces*. The warrior stretches out his hand over the head of a citizen clad in the *toga*.

The citizen, with upraised hand, appears to be uttering some word or words. Below we read *provoco*.

The usually accepted explanation of this type is that given by Cavedoni (*Ripostigli*, p. 121). He sees in it an allusion to the extension of the right of *provocatio* by which it was granted to Roman citizens even in the face of military command (*imperium militiae*). Mommsen, who accepts this explanation, interprets 'military command' in its widest and undoubtedly its truest sense to mean command outside the mile-limit of civic jurisdiction—that is, command in the provinces as well as in the army; the law here commemorated limited the imperator's capital jurisdiction by submitting the threat of executing such jurisdiction to appeal (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 117; Mommsen-Blacas, *Histoire de la monnaie Romaine*, ii. p. 365). The same explanation is adopted by Babelon (*Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. p. 369), if by 'military authority' he means the universal authority of a pro-magistrate; his words are: 'the *denarius* of P. Laeca alludes to the connection of these laws with the military authority, the omnipotence of which they attempted to restrain.' Stevenson in his *Dictionary of Roman Coins* (s.v. Porcius Laeca, p. 642), was more cautious. He thought indeed that the coin recalled the memory of the Porcian law which 'gave on appeal (*provocatio*) exemption from the ignominious punishment of scourging'; but he continues: 'this exemption was confined in its operation to towns and cities. Soldiers on duty were still left entirely dependent on the will of their commander-in-chief.' This explanation contains more elements of truth than that of any commentator that I have seen. It shows a recognition of two facts forgotten or ignored by those who have dealt recently with the question. These are (1) that the Porcian law could not have forbidden scourging simply but could only—following the analogy of other laws connected with the *provocatio*—have submitted the threat of such scourging to appeal; (2) that capital punishments continued to be inflicted by Roman generals on their soldiers to the latest period of the Republic (*C.R.* x. p. 228). He gives no evidence for the further view that the 'exemption was confined in its operation to towns and cities.' It may have been a conclusion from the fact that the Porcian coin represents the appellant

citizen as clad in the *toga*. It was a natural conclusion but one not warranted by historical evidence, which seems to show that the proconsul claimed the right of life and death over Roman citizens within his domain down to a late period of the Republic (*C.R.* x. p. 229), and it is an explanation which is not rendered inevitable by the situation depicted on the coin.

The crucial difficulty presented by this picture is to understand what relations of jurisdiction could exist between a general in a cuirass and a citizen in a *toga*. The dress of the victim excludes the idea of military jurisdiction on a campaign; the garb of the threatening commander is inconsistent with the idea of jurisdiction within Rome: while the idea of ordinary provincial jurisdiction—if even we suppose that a proconsul usually went about his judicial business in fighting garb without even veiling his cuirass with the *paludamentum*—must be set aside in face of the historical evidence which shows that such jurisdiction continued to be unlimited. We must go elsewhere for a situation which will bring an *imperator* and a *civis* face to face. The situation may be found by a discovery of the probable evil which one at least of the Porcian laws was meant to meet.

The three Porcian laws mentioned by our authorities seem at first sight to have resulted in rather a complex piece of legislation; but a closer examination reveals a unity of purpose that does not appear on the surface, and this unity may be reflected in the not unfrequent mention of a single 'lex Porcia' as though it embodied the spirit of the whole Porcian legislation.

One provision of these laws seems, if the passages describing it are literally interpreted, to have but a slender connection with our subject. Two passages in Sallust's *Catiline* seem to say that a lex Porcia extended the theory and practice of *exsilium* by permitting exile after, and not merely before, condemnation by the people, and thus preparing the way for the place held by voluntary banishment in the *quaestiones perpetuae*.<sup>1</sup> In this change the lex Porcia was assisted by 'other' laws. The change itself, though important in its consequences, was slight in so far as it did not alter the funda-

mental character of *exsilium*: and consequently we need not be surprised that it is not dwelt on by Cicero and our other authorities, who treat exclusively of the relations of these laws with the *provocatio* and the punishment of scourging.<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, just possible that we have in this passage a somewhat careless reference to a law bearing on the *provocatio*; for a law allowing the appeal, and therefore permitting voluntary exile during the hearing of the appeal, might, without much straining of language, be said to grant *exsilium* to the condemned. The statement would harmonise still further with everything else that we know about the Porcian legislation if we could adopt Mommsen's interpretation that *damnatis* here refers to condemnation by a magistrate.<sup>3</sup> It would then be a statement, not of the immediate effect of the law—the *provocatio*—but of its ultimate effect—*exsilium*.

Secondly we are told that 'leges Porciae' attached an adequate sanction to laws enjoining the *provocatio* (*Cic. de Rep.* ii. 31; *Liv.* x. 9).

Thirdly we hear of a lex Porcia which abolished scourging in some form not precisely specified by our authorities (*Cic. pro Rab.* 3, 8; 4, 12).

The two latter provisions are not necessarily identical; for the language of Cicero in more than one passage, as well as that of Livy, appears to show that a Porcian law attached a fresh sanction to the *provocatio* when employed against capital jurisdiction as well as against the penalty of scourging. Yet their close connection may be gathered from the passages where these aspects of the Porcian legislation are described—a connec-

<sup>2</sup> If this interpretation be accepted, the law in question appears to have been considerably later than at least the first lex Porcia which dealt with the *provocatio*; for the theory of *exsilium* here stated differs from that with which Polybius was familiar (vi. 14).

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen in *Neue Jenseitsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1844, p. 258. The acceptance of this interpretation of Mommsen's by no means proves the truth of his main contention in this article, viz. that the condemnation by a magistrate and *provocatio* were invariable elements in a *judicium populi*. The procedure of the *provocatio* and that in an ordinary *judicium populi* were probably distinct. The distinguishing point was that the condemnation by a magistrate existed only in the first. The points of contact between the two processes were (a) the formalities of the trial before the people, (b) the possibility of *exsilium* (see *C.R.* ix. p. 6). A final proof that the *provocatio* played no part in a *judicium populi* is furnished by the fact that women could be the subjects of a *judicium populi* (*Gell.* iv. 14, 2), although they did not possess the *provocatio* through not having *communio comitorum*.

<sup>1</sup> Sallust, *Cat.* 51, 21. 'Sed, per deos immortales, quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item damnatis civibus non animam eripi sed *exsilium* permitti jubent. §§ 40. tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus *exsilium* damnatis permissum est.'

tion which shows that no Porcian law made the scourging of a citizen as such illegal, but merely submitted the threat of such punishment to appeal. In the order of what may be called the legal value of these passages they may be classed as follows:—

(1) Cic. *de leg.* iii. 3, 6; 'magistratus nec oboedientem et noxium civem multa, vinculis, verberibus coerceto, ni par majorve potestas populusve prohibessit, ad quos provocatio esto.'

(2) Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 31, 54; 'neque vero leges Porciae, quae tres sunt trium Porciorum, ut scitis, quidquam praeter sanctionem attulerunt novi.'

(3) Liv. x. 9; 'Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur: quod gravi poena, si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum, sanxit. Valeria lex (of 300 B.C.), quum eum, qui provocasset, virgis caedi securique necari vetuisset, si quis adversus ea fecisset, nihil ultra quam improbe factum adjecit.'

(4) Cic. *pro Rab.* 3, 8; 'de civibus Romanis contra legem Porciam verberatis aut necatis.'

(5) *Ib.* 4, 12; 'Porcia lex virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit; hic misericors flagella rettulit. Porcia lex libertatem civium lictori eripuit: Labienus, homo popularis, carnifici tradidit.'

(6) Cic. ap. Ascon. in *Cornel.* p. 77. 'Etiam haec recentiora [*i.e.* later than the second secession and the creation of ten tribunes 449 B.C.] praetereo: Porciam principium justissimae libertatis' etc.

In (1) and (2) Cicero speaks as a lawyer, as might be expected from the juridical character of the works in which the passages occur. From these statements we gather that scourging was always formally a part of the *coercitio* of a Roman magistrate and that the 'leges Porciae' or the 'lex Porcia' (if we assume that it was only one of these laws that protected the back of the citizen) merely added a sanction to a provision which already allowed an appeal from a threat of *verbera*. The passage of Livy (3) is still more explicit on this point. The contradiction implied in speaking of a law, which prohibited both scourging and death, as passed *sola pro tergo civium* is only apparent; for the death referred to is the execution *more majorum* so vividly described in later times to Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 49). It was death by the axe or by the rod—death, in short, as inflicted by the *fusces*—that alone deserved mention in the early laws of appeal; for they were aimed against the *coercitio* of the magistrate with *imperium*. Perhaps in early times the sacral penalty inflicted by the

tribunes—the death from the Tarpeian rock—could be met only by the *intercessio*; but in any case it was not against tribunician but against consular violence that these numerous laws were aimed. And this dual conception of the protection of the citizen's person—from death by scourging as well as from the penalty of scourging—makes it extremely improbable that the *virgis caedi* of the third 'lex Valeria' can refer only to the latter. The passages from Cicero and Livy [(1), (2) and (3)], taken in combination, show that scourging in both forms had already been prohibited by law—a prohibition that was ineffective until a Porcian law or laws had added an efficient sanction. From this point of view the 'lex Porcia' might well be called the *principium justissimae libertatis* [passage (6)].

One of the already-cited passages from Sallust's version of Caesar's speech on the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators also contains an implication that a 'lex Porcia' prohibited scourging. The analogical argument employed is a stronger one if the prohibition was merely against scourging inflicted by a magistrate without appeal than if the law prohibited this punishment absolutely. For the death penalty against which Caesar is arguing in this speech is the death penalty inflicted by administrative decree of the magistrate. 'Why,' he asks, 'violate the *provocatio* in one particular while you respect it in another?'<sup>1</sup>

Of the remaining passages [(4) and (5)], which are taken from Cicero's speech *pro Rabirio*, the first is wholly indeterminate; it might refer equally well to the absolute and to the conditioned prohibition of scourging. The second seems to contain a more distinct reference to an absolute prohibition; but two considerations are sufficient to obviate the necessity of this interpretation. One is that Cicero is speaking here not as a lawyer but as a pleader; this citation of the 'lex Porcia' may be parallel to the equally effective and perhaps equally pointless parade of laws protecting the life of the citizen which is made in the *Verrines* (v. 63). And, secondly, if Cicero means to imply that the death penalty—and therefore death by scourging—was ever abolished in Roman law, the rhetorical antithesis which we find in this passage is wholly false from a legal point of view. If, indeed, we adopt the view that a Porcian law granted exile after condemnation and suppose that it is this

<sup>1</sup> It was possibly to avoid the appearance of consular *coercitio* that the Catilinarian conspirators were strangled.



provision which is referred to by Cicero, there is rather more point in the passage; but even so it would not contain a valid legal argument: for, unless the condemnation meant is condemnation by the magistrate, the stage at which the law would be effective had not yet been reached in the trial of Rabirius. A higher element of truth in the passage—one which, because it is true, vitiates Cicero's argument—is the statement that the 'lex Porcia' *libertatem civium lictori eripuit*. This indeed it did. Both the 'lex Valeria' and the 'lex Porcia' saved the citizen from the lictor as the instrument of magisterial 'coercitio.' It is such salvation that is symbolised on our Porcian coin.

A further, although, it must be admitted, rather unsatisfactory item of evidence in favour of the view that the punishment of scourging was not abolished in Roman law may be drawn from certain words of Seneca (*de ira* 3, 12) and Festus (p. 234 Müller), which imply that, at the time of M. Porcius Cato (consul 195 B.C.) certain laws inflicted scourging as a *poena*.<sup>1</sup>

Whether such laws (if they ever existed) continued on the statute-book until later times is unknown. All that can be gathered from these passages is that Cato, as a typical member of the Porcian house, spoke against the penalty of scourging.

Lastly, if the 'lex Porcia' had absolutely prohibited the scourging of a citizen, the people would, by this act of legislation, have adopted a method of asserting the citizen's rights and limiting the magistrate's power completely different from that which they usually pursued. Such a law would have violated the two leading principles of Roman protective legislation. These principles were the limitation of the power of the magistrate without the limitation of that of the people, and the security for the authority of the people and for the occasional imposition of a justifiably severe penalty by taking from the

magistrate the right to execute and not the power to sentence.

Granting that the evidence is in favour of the view that the 'lex Porcia' commanded the observance of the *provocatio* in cases where scourging was threatened by a magistrate, the next stage of our interpretation will be to determine in what department of administration this means of *coercitio* is found.

It is found, so far as the coercion of the Roman citizen not actually on military service is concerned, chiefly, perhaps solely, in connection with the levy (*dilectus*). In the disensions of 471 B.C. Publius Volero denied his liability to serve. The only safeguard at this time was the *appellatio* to the tribunes. It was made but they would not listen, and the consuls ordered him to be stripped (Liv. ii. 55). In the middle of the fourth century the chief complaint made against Manlius, on his abdication of the dictatorship, was 'acerbitas in dilectu—laceratione corporum lata—partim virgis caesis, qui ad nomina non respondissent' (Liv. viii. 4). It was such acts of violence that the third 'lex Valeria' and the 'lex Porcia,' so far as they took cognisance of scourging only, were meant to stop.

And here, I think, we have our explanation of the Porcian coin. The imperator in military dress is conducting the *dilectus*; the man in the *toga* is an unwilling recruit; he has been dragged to the magistrate's presence for the traditional means of summary coercion to be applied; but the 'lex Porcia,' commemorated by this coin, has enabled him to utter the magic word *provoco*.

The date of this particular coin, which is wholly uncertain, but is perhaps of the close of the second century B.C., has little bearing on the question under discussion. It must be far later than the prohibition of scourging in the military levy. But the family coins reproduce very ancient history, and any member of the Porcian house may have depicted the most dramatic event of the public life of his ancestors which the family records could recall.

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<sup>1</sup> Seneca, *de ira*, 3, 12. 'Pro scapulis cum dicit Cato significat injuria verberum (Festus "pro injuria verberum"); nam complures leges erant in cives rogatae, quibus sauciebatur poena verberum.'



## ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF MACROBIUS' SATURNALIA.

PONTANUS, commenting on Macrobius, *Sat.* vi. 9, long ago suggested that the lost part of that work which dealt, according to the promise in *Sat.* i. 24, § 17, with Virgil's augural lore, might be embodied in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, i. 12, 13. This may be so; but there seems still more reason to suppose that certain fragments of the lost portions of the *Saturnalia*, perhaps from that which intervened between the abrupt ending of iii. 12, where Virgil's pontifical science is being discussed, and the abrupt beginning of iii. 13, where the luxury of feasts is the subject of discourse, are to be found in *Policr.* viii. 7, a chapter almost wholly borrowed from Macrobius. That this has not (to my knowledge) been noticed before, may be due to the fact that John appears to be quoting an unknown person called Portunianus. But, as Schaarschmidt in his monograph on John (*Johannes Saresberiensis*, p. 91, n. 2) has pointed out, this is to be considered as a mistake for Postumianus, the narrator of the Saturnalian dialogues to Decius; and, although Postumianus is not an interlocutor in the dialogues themselves, John might, in forgetfulness of this, attribute to him remarks occurring in any part of them. He certainly does so in this very chapter, when he says (Giles, iv. p. 234, Migne, *P.L.* cxcix col. 731 D), *ceterum leges illae ualvipatae seu ualuifragae, licet Portuniani iudicio optimae fuerint, obstinatione tamen luxuriae et uitiorum inuicta concordia, nullo abrogante irritae factae sunt*, quoting Macr. *Sat.* iii. 17, § 13. Now just above this he has said, quoting the same section, *Praeterea Lucius Silla, Lepidus consul, Anius Restio, leges traduntur tulisse cibarias. Sic enim sumptuarias leges Cato appellat*. Then he adds: *Differunt tamen quod cibariae gulam iugulant, sumptuariae altrimodam, ut ait Portunianus, luxuriam cohibent*. This distinction is not drawn in any passage of Macrobius that we have, nor does the word *altrimodus* occur; but the sentence may well come from some lost part of the *Saturnalia*. Again, John goes on to quote the rule of feasting with doors open given in *Sat.* iii. 17, § 1, and

to add: *Hoc autem ideo tuto probat Portunianus quia apud populum castigatum et posterioris respectu aureum laudi erat frugalitas, et paupertas non poterat esse contemptui uel rubori. Nec uerendum erat ut ad cenam alienam quispiam inuitatus impudenter irrueret*. (We might perhaps read *haud inuitatus*.) What follows is from *Sat.* i. 7, § 10; iii. 17, §§ 13-17; iii. 16, §§ 12-16; iii. 16, §§ 5-7; iii. 17, § 1. Then after some matter not from Macrobius, John returns (*G.* viii. p. 238, M. col. 734 c) to him, as it seems, yet not to any passage included in our texts: *Secus egisse Gaium Cesarem pace urbi reformata refert Portunianus; qui, sumptuariae legis insistentis uestigio, domum civilem potius quam imperatoriam in mensa prima tribus sollennibus pulmentis sine ferculis statuit esse contentam, dum tamen bellaria parentetica pro necessitate aut dignitate personarum et aut exercenda liberalitate aut sollennitate diei primis mensis licuerit inmiscere. Sollennia quidem pulmenta sunt quae in omnes pertranseunt, et a Graecis catholica, hoc est uniuersalia nominantur. Parentetica uero quae ex causa necessitatis aut urbanitatis in praeceptam aliqua ratione ueniunt partem, sic dicta, eo quod sollennibus, id est uniuersalibus, particulariter soleant interponi*. Here we have the words *parenteticus* and *catholicus* used in senses unknown (except from this passage of John) to the dictionaries. So after some sentences, the substance of which is drawn from Macr. *Sat.* ii. 8, § 3; *Suet. Aug.* 76, 87; *Vit.* 13, &c., we have this remark, preceding a quotation from Macr. *Sat.* iii. 13: *Nam et ipse (sc. Metellus) famosam, immo infamem fecit cenam et anticenium, uel, ut ait Portunianus, paraceniū, tanta instruxit luxuria ut non modo splendorem cenae civilis sed etiam Egyptium luxum excederet*. This word *paraceniū* does not seem to be known elsewhere. The rest of the chapter is partly drawn from known sources—chiefly from Macr. *Sat.* iii. 13—partly occupied by the account of a luxurious banquet at Canosa, at which John was himself a guest.

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## UNRECORDED USES OF αὐτίκα.

BESIDE the ordinary temporal uses of αὐτίκα, the Lexicons (Stephanus, Rost and Palm, L. and S.) only recognise the use, found not unfrequently in Plato and Aristophanes, by which a particular instance is introduced to confirm a preceding general statement. Many examples of this are given in Devarius, and in Rubnken's note on Timaeus. There is however another use to be found in Clemens Alexandrinus, which approaches more nearly to γοῦν and justifies a previous statement, not necessarily by an example, but by reference to some generally recognised fact or principle, with which it is logically connected. Sylburgh in his Index quotes two examples and translates it by *utique*. It is however very common, and it may be well here to put down the instances I have collected in order to ascertain its exact force. I will mention first one or two cases in which the rendering 'for instance' is admissible. *Str.* iv. 573 'Choice and rejection are in accordance with knowledge. Hence it is knowledge not pleasure which is the good, and owing to this we sometimes choose a particular kind of pain, e.g. (αὐτίκα) the martyr chooses the pleasure he hopes for by way of the immediate pain'; *Str.* vii. 841 'the heathen make their gods like men, not only in body, but in soul, e.g. (αὐτίκα) the barbarians make them savage in disposition, the Greeks gentler but passionate.' vii. 878 τοῦτο μόνον ὁρᾶν βούλεται ὁ προσήκειν αὐτῷ. αὐτίκα τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς θεωρῶν καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῇ βλέπει τῇ ψυχῇ, 'he desires to see that only which becomes him. For instance, while he contemplates the souls of his brethren, he beholds even the beauty of the flesh only with the eye of the mind.' *So.* ii. p. 570.

Now consider the following: (A) *Str.* i. 316 ψυχῆς ἔκγονοι οἱ λόγοι αὐτίκα ('at any rate') πατέρας τοὺς κατηχίσαντάς φαμεν. The fact that we call our instructors by the name of father, is not an instance of the general statement that 'words are the offspring of the soul,' though it may be alleged in confirmation of it. *Ib.* 323 μεταδιδόναι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων τοῖς χωρεῖν δυναμένοις συγκεχώρηκεν. αὐτίκα οὐ πολλοῖς ἀπεκάλυψεν ἃ μὴ πολλῶν ἦν, 'he has permitted us to impart the divine mysteries to those who are capable of receiving them. Certainly he has not revealed to many what was beyond the capacity of many.' Here αὐτίκα introduces a clause to justify the limitation im-

plied in τοῖς χωρεῖν δυναμένοις. *Ib.* 318 ἄμφοι κηρύττονσι τὸν λόγον...τῇ δὲ αἰτίᾳ τοῦ μὴ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐλομένον θεὸς ἀναίτιος. αὐτίκα τῶν μὲν ἐκδανείσαι τὸν λόγον ἔργον ἐστίν, τῶν δὲ δοκιμάσαι καὶ ἥτοι ἐλέσθαι ἡ μὴ, 'God is not to be blamed; at any rate it is the duty of one set to communicate the word, of the others to test it.' *Ib.* 367 φασὶ γὰρ αἰτιον εἶναι κλοπῆς τὸν μὴ φυλάξαντα...ὡς τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ τὸν μὴ σβέσαντα...αὐτίκα κολάζονται πρὸς τοῦ νόμου οἱ τούτων αἰτιοὶ 'any how this is proved by the fact that such are punished by the law.' *Ib.* ii. 447 ὁ νόμος οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἀλλ' ἐδείξεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν...αὐτίκα ὁ ἀπόστολος γινώσκων εἶπεν ἁμαρτίας διὰ νόμου πεφανερῶσθαι, 'the law did not cause, but revealed sin. At any rate the Apostle said that the knowledge of sin was brought to light by the law.' *Ib.* 462 τὸ ἐκούσιον ἢ τὸ κατ' ὀρεῖν ἐστίν ἢ τὸ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἢ τὸ κατὰ διάνοιαν. αὐτίκα παράκειται πῶς ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις, ἁμαρτημα ἀτύχημα ἀδίκημα, 'the voluntary is that which is done either in accordance with inclination, or with purpose, or with understanding: at any rate there is a close connexion between error, mishap, and wrongdoing.' (Or should this come under the following head B?) *Ib.* 472 κινδυνεύοντας ἀνεχαίτισε νοθετήσας φόβος αὐτίκα οἱ περιλειφθέντες...κύριοι κατέστησαν τῶν πολεμίων, (speaking of the Israelites seduced by Midian) 'when they were in danger, fear rebuked them and pulled them up...at any rate the survivors defeated the enemy.' *Str.* iii. 540 ('as woman is considered the cause of death owing to her child-bearing, so for the same reason she will be called the author of life') αὐτίκα...ζωὴ προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὴν τῆς διαδοχῆς αἰτίαν, τῶν τε γεννωμένων τῶν τε ἀποθησκομένων (so Louth for ἁμαρτανόντων) γίνεται...μήτηρ, 'at any rate Eve was called by a name meaning life, because she brought about the succession of birth and death.' *Ib.* 553 ('Cassianus thinks that the soul is of divine nature to begin with, but that it was rendered effeminate by desire, and descended here to birth and death') αὐτίκα βιάζεται τὸν Παῦλον ἐκ τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν γένεσιν συνεστάναι λέγειν, 'at any rate he makes Paul say that generation is caused by deceit.' *Str.* iv. 570 (The martyr departs to the Lord with good courage and hears from Him the salutation 'Dear brother' because of the similarity of their life) αὐτίκα τελείωσιν τὸ μαρτύριον καλοῦσιν, at any rate they call martyrdom perfection.' *Str.* iv. 574 ('Plutus makes men

blind') αὐτίκα πρὸς τῶν ποιητῶν τυφλὸς ἐγενετῆς κηρύττεται, 'certainly he is represented as blind from his birth.' *Ib.* 566 τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν κυρίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην προσφορὰν... αὐτίκα οἱ στρωματεῖς ἡμῶν... οὐκ ἔλαον ἰσχάδας μέλι προσοδοῦνσι, 'at any rate.' *Str.* v. 660 ἀποκεκαλυμμένως οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐπιστέλλειν. αὐτίκα τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας πάννυ σφόδρα ἐπιεκρυμμένως ἡρτῆται τὰ Πυθαγόρεια σύμβολα, 'it was not possible to set forth such graces without concealment. At any rate the allegorical precepts of Pythagoras which are derived from the Hebrew philosophy are most carefully shrouded.' *Str.* vii. 844 πᾶς ἀγνός ἐστιν ὁ μὲν ἐαυτῷ κακὸν συνειδώς. αὐτίκα ἡ τραγωδία λέγει, 'Ορέσται, τίς σ' ἀπόλλυσιν νόσος; ἡ σύνεσις, ὅτι σύναιδα δεινὴ εἰργασμένος. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἡ ἀγνεία οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν πλὴν ἡ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀποχή. καλῶς ἄρα καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος φησι, Καθαρόν ἄν τὸν νοῦν ἔχῃς, ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα καθαρὸς εἴ. αὐτίκα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς προκαθαίρειν χρεὼν φαμεν ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλων δογμάτων. 'Every one is pure whose conscience is clear. At any rate the tragic Orestes witnesses that to be conscious of guilt is a fatal disease. For purity consists in abstaining from sin. It is well said therefore that, if you have your mind pure, your whole body is pure. Anyhow we say that we must first cleanse our souls also from evil opinions.' *Ib.* 897 (discussing the meaning of the word φουσιόν, Clement says it does not imply vanity but a high-minded trust in God, and contempt for the world) αὐτίκα φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος 'καὶ γνώσομαι οὐ τὸν λόγον τῶν πεφουσιωμένων ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν,' εἰ μεγαλοφρόνως τῆς γραφῆς συνιέτε, 'at any rate the Apostle says "I will know not their word, but their power," i.e. whether they have a lofty understanding of the Scripture.' *Protr.* p. 38 ('the demons are always plotting against men and are incapable of benefiting anyone) αὐτίκα γοῦν ἔχω σοι βελτίονα τῶν ἡμεδαπῶν θεῶν, τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐπιδείξαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον 'at any rate I can show you that the man comes out much better than the gods in the story of Croesus.' The only example I have from other writers is *Plut. Mor.* p. 1137 D οὐ δὲ ἄγροισιν ἀπείχοντο ἐν τοῖς Δωρίοις τῶν τετραχόρδων τοῦτον αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἔχρωντο, δηλονότι εἰδότες 'it was not owing to ignorance that they abstained from using this tetrachord in the Dorian mode; at all events they used it in the other modes, which shows their acquaintance with it.'

What is the origin of this peculiar use? The word αὐτίκα properly means 'on the

instant' as αὐτοῦ means 'on the spot.' Hence it is employed like εὐθύς to introduce a sudden thought with the force of 'to go no further,' 'to take what first comes to hand,' and so is fitly joined with an example, implying that they are so abundant there is no need to spend time in looking for one. As the word γοῦν, which originally means 'at any rate,' is narrowed to mean 'for instance,' it is possible that αὐτίκα may have received a converse extension of meaning, especially as it is often united with γοῦν by Clement (cf. p. 108, 113, 159). More probably however it is a parallel development from the root-meaning.

(B) Among the instances of the use of the word by Clement there are some which do not seem to come quite under either of the heads mentioned. Thus *Str.* i. 342, after speaking of the importance of regular training in husbandry, medicine and other pursuits, and showing that an athlete is thought little of without it, C. goes on αὐτίκα καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν πολύτερον ἐπανοῦμεν. Here neither the interpretation 'for instance' nor 'at any rate' seems appropriate, as αὐτίκα merely continues the series of examples already commenced. Perhaps it may be equivalent to the Latin *jam* 'further.' *Str.* iv. 577 (What is the meaning of the parable of Lazarus, and of the saying no man can serve God and Mammon?) αὐτίκα εἰς τὴν κλήσιν τοῦ δέσπουν οἱ φιλοκτήμονες κληθέντες οὐκ ἀπαντῶσιν... διὰ τὸ προσπαθῶς κεκτήσθαι. Here neither 'for instance' nor 'at any rate' will give a natural meaning to αὐτίκα, which, I think, must be translated 'further,' 'again.' *Str.* iv. 633 (God is passionless, without anger and without desire. This is the meaning of the Pythagorean precept that man should be one, as God is one) αὐτίκα ὁ σωτὴρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας συναρτῆρει καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τιμωρίας ὄντα ἐπιθυμίαν, 'further the Saviour did away with anger by forbidding desire, anger being a desire of vengeance.' *Ib.* 633 ἡ γὰρ σωφροσύνη ἐαυτὴν ἐπισκοποῦσα καὶ θεωροῦσα ἀδιαλείπτως ἐξομοιοῦται κατὰ δύναμιν θεῷ. αὐτίκα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐπ' ἰσῆς αὐτοῦ τε κύριοι ἐσμεν καὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, 'self-control constantly surveying and observing itself is made like to God so far as is possible. Now that which is within our power is that in which we are masters alike of the thing and of its opposite.' *Str.* v. 659 (After a quotation from St. Paul on the distinction between the spiritual and the psychical man) αὐτίκα ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν γνωστικῆς τελειότητος τὴν κοινὴν πίστιν θεμέλιον λέγει, 'again the apostle calls ordinary faith the

foundation in contrast to gnostic perfection.' *Ib.* 663 (After quoting sayings of Pythagoras which are taken from the Bible just as a candle is lighted from the sun, Clement proceeds) αὐτίκα ἐπιτομὴν τῶν περὶ δικαιοσύνης εἰρημένων Μωϋσεί ὁ Πυθαγόρας πεποιήται, λέγων ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, 'again P. has given an abstract of the words of Moses about justice in his phrase "not to exceed the balance."' *Ib.* 712 (Plato calls the light of this world night, and the descent of the soul into the body slumber and death; so David says of the Saviour, 'I laid me down and slept, I awaked for the Lord shall sustain me'), αὐτίκα ὁ αὐτὸς σωτὴρ παρεγγυᾷ γρηγορεῖτε, οἷον μελετᾶτε ζῆν καὶ χωρίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος, 'again the same Saviour charges us to watch, i.e. to practise how to live and to separate the soul from the body.'

(C) There are some passages in which αὐτίκα is read, where the text seems to me corrupt. Such are *Str.* i. p. 426 (the Apostle used the phrase 'according to that ye are able' because he knew that some had only received milk) οὐδέπω δὲ καὶ βρώμα, αὐτίκα οὐχ ἀπλῶς γάλα. Here I think we must read with Louth ἢ τάχα ('not yet allowed meat, perhaps not even milk unconditionally,' i.e. unless mixed

with water): αὐτίκα makes no sense. *Str.* ii. p. 460 πάθος δι...δρμὴ ἐκφερομένη καὶ ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ. παρὰ φύσιν οὖν κινήσις ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν πρὸς λόγον ἀπείθειαν τὰ πάθη, ἣ δὲ ἀπόστασις καὶ ἔκστασις καὶ ἀπείθεια ἐφ' ἡμῶν... διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐκούσια κρίνεται. [αὐτίκα καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον τῶν παθῶν εἰ τις ἐπεξίοι, ἀλόγους ὀρέξεις, εὔροι ἂν αὐτά]. τὸ γοῦν ἀκούσιον οὐ κρίνεται. I have elsewhere suggested that the sense requires us to transfer the sentence in brackets after ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ. This would give the force of 'at any rate' to αὐτίκα, which is meaningless as it stands, but would then justify the preceding words by reference to the fact that each particular passion is an ἄλογος ὀρέξις. *Str.* iv. 566 Ἐπίχαρμος μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν, φησὶν, ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. αὐτίκα τὸ μὲν ἀπιστεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ θάνατον φέρει, ὡς τὸ πιστεύειν ζῶν, ἐμπαλιν δὲ τὸ πιστεύειν τῷ ψεύδει ἀπιστεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑποσύρει. Here it seems to me that αὐτίκα has no meaning as it stands. If we exchange it with the following ἐμπαλιν δὲ we should get the sense 'on the contrary to disbelieve the truth brings death...at any rate to believe a lie sweeps men to destruction.'

J. B. MAYOR.

#### HORACE, ODES I. 28.

It would be useless to recapitulate the difficulties which this ode presents. Editors are ranged into two hostile camps on the question 'Is the ode a dialogue or a monologue?' and among those who favour the view which makes it a dialogue, there is the greatest divergency of opinion as to the verses spoken by each of the dramatis personae. Moreover, as the identity of the speaker or speakers is by no means clear from the ode itself, we can easily sympathise with Wickham, when he pronounces the ode 'not very successful if it be essential to good drama that the dramatic play should be so obvious that most intelligent readers should put the same interpretation on it.'

Would not all difficulties disappear if we suppose that the ode addressed to Archytas ends and is completed at line 20?

These twenty verses I would take to be a meditation by Horace at the grave of the famous philosopher and mathematician. That Archytas was buried seems quite clear from vv. 2-4, for surely 'cohibent pulveris exigui munera' could not mean 'the want

of the gift of a little dust keeps you fast,' as the supporters of the opposite view are forced to take these words (see Page on this ode). The contrast is evidently between the narrow compass of Archytas' tomb and the infinite range of the universe which his mind had once spanned. One would analyse the ode thus:—

vv. 1-6. Archytas, you whose speculation ranged so wide, lie in so narrow a tomb as this.

vv. 7-15. The great of ancient times, Tantalus, Tithonus have all passed away.

vv. 15-20. All men must die, some in war, some by shipwreck, all, young and old alike.

The ode would then end with the sonorous cadence, *nullum | saeva caput Proserpina fugit*.

Up to this all is clear; the *motif* is much as in Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 23-64, where Cicero visits the tomb of the mathematician and philosopher Archimedes:

'The sceptre, learning, physic must  
All follow this and come to dust.'

It is only in vv. 21 *sqq.* that the difficulties appear which beset the simplicity of the earlier part of the ode as we have it. We have Archytas decently buried and have moralised over his ashes. But now comes the *nauta* who is entreated to spare a few grains of sand to somebody who, as we saw, cannot be Archytas: to whom then does '*me quoque*' refer? Even supposing that Archytas were not already buried, is it probable that Horace would try to interest us in the chances of burial open to a Greek who died 300 years before?

Now if we assume that vv. 21 *sqq.* are absolutely distinct from vv. 1-20, we shall probably not be far from the mark in taking the second ode to be put in the mouth of a sailor or seafarer drowned in the Adriatic, whose ghost appeals for burial to the *nauta* of v. 23, who, as one exposed to a like risk, may be assumed to be ready to listen to his prayer. Analysed, the ode reads thus:—

vv. 21-22. I, like many others, have been drowned in the Adriatic.

23-25 (to the *nauta*). Sprinkle a few grains of sand over me and so bury me.

25-29. Blessing invoked on the *nauta* if he obeys.

30-34. Penalty invoked if he disobeys.

35-36. The boon can be easily granted.

That an ode may begin with the words '*me quoque*' seems possible from a Greek parallel (Hiller, p. 226, Mackail, p. 257)

καὶ σὲ, Κλεηνόριδῃ, πόθος ὤλεσε πατρίδος αἵης,  
θαρήσαντα Νότου λαίλαπι χειμερίῃ,

where the second verse is closely apposite (cf. v. 22 of Horace's ode). The whole of the piece from v. 21 seems imitated from a Greek original. It was probably written at about the same time as vv. 1-20, and subsequently the desire to avoid the beginning '*me quoque*,' added to the fact that the scene of the 'second' ode is Apulian, caused the two odes, originally distinct, to be joined together and treated as one. We may note how inartistic it is to separate v. 21 from v. 18 by a generalisation already stated in vv. 15, 16. On any other view vv. 19, 20 are intolerable. On mine, they gather up the threads of vv. 17, 18 and enforce by repeating the sentiment of vv. 15, 16 in a way very characteristic, to mention only one poet, of Sophocles.

With regard to minor points, I would suggest that in v. 3 *latum* should be read for *litus* with B. That Archytas was buried on the seashore is most likely to be a reflex from v. 23 (*arenæ*) after the two odes had coalesced. '*Latum parua*' is quite in Horace's manner. The main question, however, lies with the general conception. That Archytas was not drowned and his body buried on the shore of Garganus, we can neither affirm nor deny. But that Horace i. 28 proves anything more than the existence of his grave in that region of Apulia is a proposition hard to believe.

ETHEL A. NAIRN.

#### διήφνυσε.

N 508 ῥήξε δὲ θύρηκος γύαλον, διὰ δ' ἔντερα  
χαλκὸς  
ἤφνυσ'. ὁ δ' ἐν κονίησι πεισὼν ἔλε γαῖαν  
ἀγοστῶ.

These two lines are repeated word for word P 314 f.

Ξ 517 οὔτα κατὰ λαπάρην, διὰ δ' ἔντερα χαλκὸς  
ἤφνυσσε  
δηώσας.

τ 449 ὁ δέ μιν φθάμενος ἔλασεν  
σῦς  
γουνὸς ὑπερ, πολλὸν δὲ διήφνυσε σαρκὸς  
δδόντι  
λακριφὶς αἴξας, οὐδ' ὅστέον ἔκετο φωτός.

The above are the only passages, in which this verb, ἀφύσσω (ἀφύω) is used in connec-

tion with the infliction of a wound. Elsewhere it means 'to draw' wine or some other fluid, e.g. :—

ι 204 οἶνον ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσι δυώδεκα πᾶσιν  
ἀφύσσας

β 349 Μαί', ἄγε δὴ μοι οἶνον ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσιν  
ἄφυσσον. So 379 ἄφυσσον.

ι 164 πολλὸν γὰρ ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσι ἕκαστος  
ἠφύσαμεν (sc. οἶνον)

ψ 305 πολλὸς δὲ πύθων ἠφύσσετο οἶνος.

Α 598 οἶνοχόει γλυκὺ νέκταρ ἀπὸ κρητῆρος  
ἀφύσσων.

So also frequently in the middle voice :—

Γ 295 οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσάμενοι δε-  
πάεσσιν | ἔκχεον



- K 579 ἀφυσσάμενοι λείβον μελιγδέα οἶνον.  
 Ψ 220 οἶνον ἀφυσσάμενος χαμάδις χέει,  
 Π 230 ἀφύσσαςτο δ' αἶθρα οἶνον  
 δ 359 ἀφυσσάμενοι μέλαν ὕδωρ.

We may follow Aristarchus and write ἀφυσσόμενος as an epic aor. like ἐβήσατο, but the usual -άμενος seems preferable.

By an easy metaphor we have:—

A 171 ἄφενος καὶ πλούτον ἀφύζειν.

and η 285 ἀμφὶ δὲ φύλλα | ἡφυσάμην.

The compound forms of this verb, exclusive of the one with which we are now dealing, are:—

- ξ 95 οἶνον δὲ φθινύουσιν ὑπέρβιον ἐξαφύοντες. (Leg. ἐξαφύσαντες.)  
 τ 388 ψυχρόν, ἔπειτα δὲ θερμὸν ἐπήφυσαν. sc. ὕδωρ.

These, so far as the meaning goes, present no difficulty whatever; but the case is somewhat different when we come to inquire how διήφυσε is to be understood. Ebeling (Lex. Hom.) renders διαφύσσω by 'discindo,' following Apoll. Lex. διήντησεν, διέκοψεν and Et. Mg. διέκοψεν, which is, it appears, considered equivalent to διήντησεν for this exquisite, but ludicrously insufficient, reason, ὁ γὰρ ἀντλῶν διακόπτει τὸ ἀντλούμενον, 'because the remover of the bilge-water knocks a hole in the vessel.' Of course the meaning ought to be 'drew off' with possibly the additional idea of 'completely' or 'continuously' (v. Liddell and Scott), as in the remaining example of this form, which may now be quoted:—

- π 110 καὶ οἶνον διαφυσσόμενον καὶ σῖτον ἔδοντας (Leg. διαφυσσομένους).

But is such a sense tolerable or even possible in our three passages? Dr. Leaf has, I see, on N 509 taken the bull fairly by the horns and explained 'let out like water,' defending this by Δ 526 χύντο χάμαι χόλαδες. This explanation, however, waiving for the moment any objection to it for the particular passage, is obviously not in any degree applicable to τ 450 with πολλὸν σαρκὸς instead of ἔντερα, nor, I submit, would Homer, if he had entertained such an idea for Ξ 517, have been likely to proceed thus:—

ψυχὴ δὲ κατ' οὐταμένην ὠτειλὴν  
 ἔσσαντ' ἐπειγομένη,

which would remind us with a difference of Shakespeare's (King Richard II. Act 1, Sc. 1):—

Sluiced out his innocent soul through streams of blood.

It would be little less than marvellous, if this literal acceptance of ἔντερα διήφυσε even in N 508 f.=P 314 f. were received with more favour now than of old when διέκοψεν was welcomed as a paraphrase. The expression is in fact about as absurd as it is horrible, and, I will add, as erroneous as it is absurd. I would hardly state the case so strongly as this, if I were not of opinion that a remedy is possible and that the true verb, lost from the negligence of the later Greeks, whose regard for the obsolete and even the unfamiliar way severely restricted, may still be recovered from other Homeric passages. As this presumed original differs from the debased vulgate by a single letter only, there need be no great difficulty in supposing that our passages originally stood thus:—

- N 508 ῥήξει δὲ θώρηκος γνάλον, διὰ δ' ἔντερα  
 χαλκὸς ἦμυσ'. ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι πεσὼν ἔλε γαῖαν  
 ἀγασσάτω.  
 Ξ 517 οὐτα κατὰ λαπαύρην, διὰ δ' ἔντερα  
 χαλκὸς ἄμυσσε  
 τ 450 πολλὸν δὲ διήμυσσε σαρκὸς  
 ὀδόντι.

διήμυσσε, 'dilaceravit,' is undeniably appropriate in every instance; in one, τ 450, it is more than appropriate. It is indispensable. That it is a legitimate aorist of δι-ἀμύσσω may be inferred from the parallel:—

ἀφύσσω : ἀφύξω : ἡφυσα  
 ἀμύσσω : ἀμύξω : ἡμυσσα.

That this verb is rare in Homer must be admitted; but is sufficiently established by these passages:—

- T 284 ἀμφ' αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγ' ἐκόκκυε, χερσὶ δ'  
 ἄμυσσε  
 στήθεα τ' ἡδ' ἀπαλὴν δειρὴν ἰδε καλὰ  
 πρόσσωπα.  
 A 233 σὺ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν  
 ἀμύξεις

imitated by Theocritus xiii. 71 χαλεπὰ γὰρ ἔσω θεὸς ἡπαρ ἄμυσσεν.

E 425 πρὸς χρόσῃ περιόνῃ καταμύξατο χεῖρα ἀμύξῃ.

Again in Theocr. vi. 13 κατὰ δὲ χρόα καλὸν ἀμύξῃ.

It is observable that the solitary aorist of ἀμύσσω that is to be found in the Homeric poems is καταμύξατο with ξ instead of σ, and this fact must be regarded as to some extent adverse to the correction suggested. The objection however need not be considered very serious; for apart from the fact that an original καταμύσσατο (duplicato σ) may have been doricised or even accidentally assimilated to other Homeric aorists such as ἐνάριξα, πολέμιξα, ἀλάπαξα, we have a precisely similar phenomenon as regards the interchange of ξ and σ in ἡρπάξα and ἡρπασα, both Homeric, if not in ἐπαίξα and ἐπαισα.

In conclusion I may mention a further reason for the loss of ἡμυσα from our passages over and above the natural tendency of the less known to fail before that which is even a little more familiar—and we have seen that ἀφύσσω occurs far more frequently than ἀμύσσω. The reason is this. ἡμυσε is unfortunately liable to be confused with the similarly spelled aorist of ἡμύω (Θ 308 ὡς δ' ἐτέρωσ' ἡμυσε κάρη). No doubt the two are distinguishable by the quantity, and in the case of words in common use this would be a sufficient safeguard, but hardly so, when, as in this instance, the later Greeks had to deal with the semi-obsolete, the preservation of which must always have been precarious and uncertain.

T. L. AGAR.

#### TACITUS AGRICOLA XXIV.

IN the October number of this review (p. 328), Mr. A. Gudeman declares his belief in the theory of Pfitzner that Agricola invaded Ireland. I should like briefly to indicate why this theory seems to me wholly mistaken. Two arguments in chief have been adduced to prove it:—

(1) Pfitzner asserts that a certain legion was sent to Britain for the years 81, 82, and that an expedition to Ireland is the only conceivable reason for its being thus specially sent. The first of these statements is admitted by all competent authorities to be wrong: the second is obviously an arbitrary assumption which is not worth discussion.

(2) Mr. Gudeman says that 'the whole chapter [Agr. xxiv.] is unintelligible except on the presumption of an expedition to Ireland.' Now this chapter says a good deal about Ireland; it tells us that Agricola thought about invading the island; it tells us what troops he considered necessary for the enterprise. But it does not tell us that he ever did invade Ireland. It seems to me that the chapter is unintelligible save on the presumption of no expedition.

With respect to the particular passage discussed by Mr. Gudeman, *nave prima*

*transgressus*, I think Mr. Gudeman has underestimated one objection to his otherwise ingenious view. He considers *nave prima* as noun and adjective in agreement and admits that it ought to be *prima nave*. That certainly is the Tacitean order where there is no special emphasis; and it is not merely the Tacitean order. If it were a mere rule made by Tacitus for himself, we might allow him to break it—and, I may say in passing, that from this point of view I demur to emendations like those suggested by Mr. Gudeman on Agr. xvii or xxxviii; they assume (contrary to the manuscripts) that Tacitus could never vary from his own rule. But this rule about the noun and adjective is common to nearly all Latin, and no writer would break it without an intelligible reason. With a reason, the rule is broken often enough, both by Tacitus and others, but here there is no reason of rhythm or rhetoric or anything else. I still venture to think that my own explanation of the passage, which neither breaks this rule nor disturbs the text, is satisfactory. However, Mr. Gudeman does not think my explanation even worthy of rejection.

F. HAVERFIELD.

## PYLOS—THE ATTACK ON KORYPHASION.—A NOTE.

IN a recent controversy on Pylos and Sphakteria in the *Classical Review*, one of the questions raised was as to the identity of the wall which the Peloponnesians proposed to attack with engines (Thuc. iv. 13). I maintained that it was a wall filling up a gap at the north end of the eastern cliff of Koryphasion (Palaeokastro). It was urged against me that it was a wall at the extreme south end of this cliff, coming down to the actual edge of the Sikia Channel. I have pointed out various objections to this view, but there is one which occurred to me the other day, while reading Thucydides' narrative, which I did not urge in my article, but which is, as it seems to me, a very important one.

Thucydides says (iv. 23) that, after the Athenians had got command of Navarino Bay, and after, too, they had on the terms of the armistice got hold of the Peloponnesian fleet, the Peloponnesians continued to make attacks upon the wall. It seems practically certain that this wall is the same as that which they proposed to attack with

engines. But I venture to maintain that had this wall mentioned been on the shore of the Sikia Channel at the south end of the eastern cliff, attack on it by land would have been impossible with the Athenian fleet in command of that channel. The ships could have sailed close in shore and have attacked the assailants in flank in such a way as to render their position untenable and the attempt hopeless, for it must be remembered that it could not in any case have been more than the extreme end of the cliff on the very edge of the channel itself which would be assailable. How effectively ships could be used against a land force where circumstances permitted of their employment can be seen from the account which Pausanias gives (x. 19, 4) of the way in which the Athenian galleys were used at Thermopylae in defending the pass against the attack of Brennus and his Gauls.

I should not have written this note, were not the point in dispute of considerable importance in the Pylos story.

G. B. GRUNDY.

## A CORRECTION IN AGAMEMNON 735.

- 727 χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν  
ἦθος τὸ πρόσθε τοκήων  
χάριν τροφᾶς γὰρ ἀμείβων  
730 μηλοφόνουσιν ἐν αἵταις (?)  
δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν—  
αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη—  
ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,  
μέγα σίνος πολυκτόνον·  
735 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις ἄτας δόμοις †προσε-  
τράφη†.

Heath's conjecture *προσεθρέφθη*, which most modern editors have permitted to appear in their texts without impugning its claim, cannot be seriously defended. It defies the rules of scientific emendation, and has not the merit of yielding a satisfactory sense (since *pros-* is pointless). It is quite inconceivable that any scribe should have deliberately changed the metrical *προσεθρέφθη* into the unmetrical *προσετράφη*; and it would be equally hard to explain how the same change could have been produced by accidental error. Alive to the impossibility

of Heath's reading, Mr. Verrall, in his edition of the *Agamemnon*, proposes and adopts *προσετράφη*, which he interprets 'was directed to.' The obvious objection to this lies in the circumstance that *προστρέπω* is always found in the special sense of *supplication*; and I should have some difficulty in believing that Aeschylus would have used *προστρέπω* with the literal meaning 'turn to,' unless he wished to make some point by playing on the meaning 'supplicate.' *προσετράφη*, if it were in the MSS., would be so unnatural as to invite the emendator's art; as an emendation, it is still harder to acquiesce in.

We have not to go so far to seek for the uniquely appropriate word. The sense required is 'was inflicted upon the house,' and the Greek for 'inflict on' is *προστίβειν*. The restored line is:

ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις ἄτας δόμοις *προσετρίφθη*.

The reading of M *προσετράφη* is a corruption

*e contextu*; it is all about a *θρέμμα* (cp. *ἔθρεψεν* l. 717, *τροφᾶς* l. 728).

The restoration of *προσπερίβη* receives some special support from l. 395 of the same play, where the poet is likewise referring to the crime of Paris and Helen:

πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἄφερον ἐνθείς.

*προσπρίβω* occurs twice in Aeschylus else-

where: in *Prom.* 329 *γλώσση ματαία ξημία προσπρίβεται*; and in *Eum.* 238, *ἀλάστορα.... ἀμβλὺν ἤδη προσπετριμμένον τε πρὸς ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν*, where the participle has the double sense of *inflicted* and *worn away by rubbing*. For the use of the 1st Aor. pass. it is enough to refer to *τριφθεῖσα ἔλη* in Thucydides, 2, 77.

J. B. BURY.

#### THE SUN'S RAYS SHINING UNDEFILED ON FILTH.

This illustration of the principle, 'to the pure all things are pure,' is not uncommon in the later Greek and Latin writers. I do not remember to have seen any collection of texts, and have myself let slip not a few. The following may serve as a beginning. I cannot recover passages in which rulers are praised for keeping an eye on all their subjects, down to the meanest and the worst, even as the sun shines impartial on all things.

*Diog. Laert.* vi 63 (saying of Diogenes the cynic):

πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα ὡς εἰς τόπους ἀκαθάρτους εἰσίοι; Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς ἀποπάτους, ἀλλ' οὐ μαινεται.

*Orig. c. Cels.* vi 73 οἰεται δὲ ὁ τὸν Στωϊκὸν λόγον ἐκτιθέμενος καὶ μὴ προσποιούμενος τὰ περὶ ἀδιαφόρων μεμαθηκέναι, εἰς μίasma ἐμβεβλῆσθαι τὴν θείαν φύσιν, καὶ μεμιάσθαι εἴτε γενομένην ἐν γυναικὸς σώματι, ἕως περιπλασθῇ αὐτῇ τὸ σῶμα, εἴτε σῶμα ἀνεληφνύαν παραπλήσιον τι πῶον τοῖς οἰόμενοις τὰς αἰγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου μαινεσθαι ἐν τοῖς βορβόροις καὶ τοῖς δυσώδεσι σώμασι, καὶ μὴ μένειν κακέῃ καθαρᾷ. [Similarly *Athan. de incarn. Verbi* 17 f. (i. 126 c d, *Migne*); *Macar. hom.* 7 § 2 pr. (*Migne, patol. Gr.* xxxiv 524 d.); 11 § 13 (553 d); 16 § 3 f. (616 a b); *Append. Basil. hom. in*

*s. Christi generationem* (ii 602 c, ed. *Bened.*). To these five references I was led by David Hoeschel's note.]

*Aug. de agone Christiano* § 20 (vi. 245 a, ed. *Bened.*) *nec eos audiamus, qui non verum hominem suscepisse dicunt Filium Dei, neque natum esse de femina, sed falsam carnem et imaginem simulatam corporis humani ostendisse videntibus. nesciunt enim quomodo substantia Dei administrans universam creaturam inquinari omnino non possit: et tamen praedicant istum visibilem solem radios suos per omnes faeces et sordes corporum spargere, et eos mundos et sinceros ubique servare.*

*Hier. ep.* 120 ad *Hedibiam* c. 11 (i 845 c d, ed. *Ven.* 1765, 4to.): *nec hoc mirandum de Apostolo, cum etiam de Domino legerimus: ecce hic positus est in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel. . . . et omnesque radios tam munda loca excipiant quam immunda, et sic in floribus quomodo in stercore luceant: nec tamen solis radii polluuntur. sic et Christi bonus odor, qui numquam mutari potest nec suam naturam amittere, credentibus vita est, incredulis mors.*

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

#### THE POEMS OF BACCHYLIDES.

*The Poems of Bacchylides.* From a papyrus in the British Museum. Edited by F. G. Kenyon. [Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1897. Demy 8vo, lii. 247 pp. 5s. nett.]

WHEN it became known early in the year that a volume of papyrus had been discovered containing a considerable number of the poems of Bacchylides, a feeling of expectation akin to that experienced in 1891 on the announcement of the new *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, was aroused in the scholars of this and other countries. That

in Bacchylides a notable rival of Pindar was added to our store of Greek poetry; that from 107 lines (many of little interest from our ignorance of the context), which some months ago were all that we had of this poet, at the present time 'about 1,070 are either perfect or admit of satisfactory restoration' (p. xxiii.), while of these one ode alone (V.) contains 200; that, moreover, fourteen centuries had passed since Bacchylides was last read in such a form as we have him, all these were facts which justified the eagerness displayed for further information since the first announcement of

the British Museum Trustees. The fact that the first editor was to be Mr. Kenyon was a sufficient guarantee, to those who could appreciate the ability shown in his earlier work of the excellence of its successor. The latter now lies before us: and it may safely be said that Mr. Kenyon has confirmed his high reputation. His task indeed was easier than before. The 'fine uncial hand of good size' (p. xvii.) would present no such difficulties in deciphering as the crabbed minuscule of the Aristotle, with the additional complication of the number of scribes. Also, in establishing the text of Bacchylides, where reconstruction or conjectural emendation found legitimate scope, the editor had the assistance (p. lii.) of such scholars as Prof. Jebb, Prof. Palmer, Prof. Blass, and Dr. Sandys. The advantage gained by the collaboration of the first-mentioned scholar in particular may be studied in the apparatus criticus. Perhaps the most remarkable circumstance in the history of the Aristotle was the wealth of resource with which the scholars of this country treated from every point of view the problems presented; and the same may be said of the Bacchylides.

The present is hardly the occasion for discussing the merit of Bacchylides as a poet. I find myself, however, in general agreement with the editor (pp. xliii. *sq.*). The final verdict on Bacchylides will probably be flattering. He suffers by comparison with Pindar; he offends at first by certain mannerisms such as the keeping up of epithets often commonplace; but he is excellent in narrative, and he expresses the simpler emotions with dignity and grace. The poems numbered v., xvii., xviii., are of special interest.

Mr. Kenyon does not claim finality for his text. There are a number of passages where an emendation may yet be made which will displace the suggestions here adopted, although the editor has been slow to admit alterations for which a considerable amount of evidence was not forthcoming. One good principle he has adopted: that of excluding from his text any reading which involved a change in any part of a mutilated passage; even when, as at xvii. 86, a practically certain emendation is thus excluded. Again, it is impossible to regard as certain all the restorations proposed where the text presents *lacunae*. Continued study of the poems may lead to more definite results in matters of detail; but, in the main, future editors of Bacchylides will have few textual problems to grapple with.

I proceed to discuss some passages where the editor's text or notes do not satisfy me.

Ode i. vv. 1 *sqq.*

Mr. Kenyon says of vv. 1-12: 'The drift of these mutilated lines can hardly be restored with certainty: but apparently ll. 1-8 refer to Melas himself.' I shall first propose my restoration of the passage and then offer some remarks.

πολὺν πρῶτον, τῶν βαθυ-  
δείλο[ν ἐξισ]μεν γένος,  
ἔπλε[το καρτε]ρόχειρ  
Ἀργεῖο[ς ἀγαλμα], λέοντος  
5 θυμῶ[ν ἔχων], ὅποτε  
[ἐ]λαφρ[ε]ῖος ἐξέ[λθοι] μάχας,  
ποσσὶ[ν τ' ἐλα]φρό[ς, π]ατρίων  
τ' οὐκ [ἀπειράτος π]αλῶν.

I have adopted in vv. 3, 7, and 8 restorations already in the text: save that in v. 7 *ελαφρός* appears instead of *ελαφροῖς*. The nom. sing. seems necessary, even if it will not fill the vacant space quite so accurately. In v. 8 *ἀπειράτος* is Prof. Jebb's. From the editor's silence on the epithet *βαθυδείλο[ν]* I am emboldened to say that it means 'very famous,' lit. 'very conspicuous,' much as *εὐδείλος*, only metaphorical. Bacchylides is fond of compounds with *βαθυ-* as the first part.

πολὺν πρῶτον goes with *ἀγαλμα*, and τῶν is the relative. *ἔξισμεν* gains in probability from the editor's statement that the letter before M in the papyrus 'is perhaps Σ,' that is, apparently, C. That *ὅποτε* should be read as one word, not divided as in the text, seems clear: while in the *ΟΛΟῖ* of the following line must be concealed a trace of the optative 'of frequency.' The right reading of v. 6 is very difficult to ascertain. The MS. (v. critical note) has a vowel at the beginning, making hiatus with the final of *ὅποτε*. This is very rare (v. note on x. 15, p. 87) in the poems. But the meaning is the chief difficulty of *ΑΧΕΙ*: 'when he came forth to battle' must be the general sense, and *ελαφρ[ε]ῖος μάχας*, meaning 'eager for battle,' is possible, cf. Theocritus xxv. 6. I had thought of *ΧΕΙ*[Α ΝΙΝ ΕΚΚ]ΑΛΟῖ ΜΑΧΑC, but this does not agree with *ΑΧΕΙ* or with *ΟΛΟῖ*. For *ἐξέλθοι* it may be said that it involves the common confusion of Θ and Ο, though transposition complicates the question. The accent on *Οῖ* in the MS. is not a serious objection (v. note on iii. 30, p. 21). Finally, *ἐξέλθοι* satisfies the metre of the antistrophic v. 14.



In the light of this restoration we may now approach Ode ii. vv. 4-5, where is to be found the rest of the evidence for the name of the athlete whose praises form the subject of these two odes. Mr. Kenyon reads here:—

ὅτι Μ[έλ]ας θρασύχειρος Ἀρ-  
γείων ἄριστον ἔλβων νίκαν.

Considering the difficulty of Ἀργείων νίκαν (see his note), and the passage in the first ode just discussed, where no proper name other than Ἀργεῖος could well find a place, it is probable that the name of the athlete was Ἀργεῖος, not Μέλας: that Μ[ ]ΑC of v. 4 is to be restored as ΜΕΓΑC: cf. μέγαν Θησέα (xvii. 98) which may remove Mr. Kenyon's scruples as to the epithet: and lastly that Ἀργεῖος is to be read, with Blass and Sandys, in both passages.

Ode i. vv. 42-3.

I am inclined to read, with Prof. Jebb, τόνδ' ἔλαχεν τιμάν, neglecting the punctuation of the MS. But the τί μάν; of the text has a tone of good-humoured contempt which will lead some to prefer it.

Ode ii. 8. Ἐυξαντίδα νῆσον. Mr. Marindin has suggested to me a reference to Strabo p. 487, where it is stated that Nestor, on his return from Troy, founded a temple to Athene Nedusia (of Nedon in Elis cf. Strabo p. 360) at Poessa in Ceos. This, added to the fact that one of the founders of Miletus was the Pylian Neleus, forms a link between Pylus Miletus and Ceos like that established by the editor on p. 195.<sup>1</sup>

Ode iii. vv. 21-22. θεὸν θεόν τις | ἀγλαΐζέτω γάρ, ἄριστον ἔλβων. The γάρ is exceedingly weak, and a 2nd person imperative seems required: 'whoever thou art, give God the glory.' ἄριστον ἔλβων also is unsatisfactory, nor is ἄριστον ἔλβω any more suitable. Prof. Butcher, who has very kindly helped me with his advice throughout the preparation of this review, suggests

θεὸν θεόν τις | ἀγλαΐζε, δάτορ' ἄριστον ἔλβων.

TOP and GAP are very close, and the corruption of ΟΑΒΩΝ to ΟΑΒΟΝ would be rapid after the disappearance of ΔΩΤΟΡΑ. It would perhaps be over refining to say that the transition from ἈΓΛΑΙΖΕΔΩ to ἈΓΛΑΙΖΕΘΩ is less violent than that postulated in the text.

<sup>1</sup> [It may be added, that it also explains why Bacchylides (if we accept Professor Palmer's excellent suggestion in Ode xi. 120) speaks of the founders of Metapontum as his ancestors. G. E. M.]

Mr. Marindin would read ἀγλαΐζε, θεῷ γάρ ἄριστος ἔλβων, giving a causative sense to θεῷ.<sup>2</sup>

Ode iii. 48. Read Ἀβροβάταν (a proper name) with Prof. Palmer.

iii. 49. ξύλινον δόμον = funeral pyre might have had a note, with a reference to Pindar's ξύλινον τέχος (Pyth. 3, 67). The whole passage should be compared, esp. οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ with v. 52 of Bacchylides.

iii. 60. The spelling τανισφύροις of the MS. should hardly be introduced into the text: (cf. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v.)

iii. 63. The sentence which begins ὅσοι μὲν ends with the word πέμψαι v. 66. βροτῶ (v. 66) for which we should perhaps read βροτῶν (cf. v. 109), goes with παρῆσιν of v. 67: the infinitive dependent on παρῆσιν lies hid in [ ]εν: perhaps [αἶνε]εν, though the editor reports a Γ before εν: cf. however xiii. 166 ff. From ὅστις το παίνεται is parenthetical, and in v. 69 perhaps [Δαμοκ]λη should be restored: while the epithet of Διὸς in v. 70 may be [ξεν]ιον, but is more probably some local title of the God, familiar to the poet as a native of Ceos. For the deprecatory tone of vv. 67-68 cf. xiii. 166 ff. above quoted. Is Damocles then the trainer of Hiero's horses?

iii. 76-7. Prof. Jebb's [Ἀπόλλων] and [ὁ βουκόλος] are worthy of being received into the text.

iii. 88. πολὺν π[αρ]έντα γῆρας. I am disposed to read παρέντα with Prof. Jebb, but in the sense of 'passing over,' 'omitting,' not as Prof. Jebb 'having seen it go by.' This meaning seems scarcely so suitable, and barely borne out by the parallels quoted, both of which refer to seeing youth, not old age, go by. I question whether, in the sense in which Plato uses the word, it is possible for any one γῆρας παρίεναι.

iii. 90. μινύθει with ῖ is indeed a novelty. Is it impossible that the form μινύνω posited by Mr. Purser (on v. 151 p. 54) should have been used intransitively (as μινύθω is used in both ways)? Its displacement by the common form μινύθω would be almost certain. No corruption of a deeper kind seems at all probable.

iv. 19. παντοδαπῶν. This word, a formation like ποδαπός (cuius) meant originally 'from all lands,' and was then generalized. The primitive meaning will suit the present

<sup>2</sup> [Professor Butcher's proposal makes a much better line. My only difficulty in regarding it as altogether preferable to my own is that it is hard to conceive a scribe altering so common a word as δάτορ into θωγαρ, whereas he might conceivably write the monosyllabic θεῷ as θα. G. E. M.]

passage, for Hiero, as Mr. Kenyon says, had won victories at Olympus, Pytho and Thebes. I had thought of παντοδροπῶν, another ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, comparing Horace's undique decerptam—oliuam, but there does not seem to be room for three letters between O and Π.

v. 26. δυσπαίπαλα is a strange epithet of κύματα. In pre-Christian poetry it is applied elsewhere only to the glens of mountains. δυσπέμφελα (v. L. and S.) is much more appropriate, and may be worth consideration, perhaps as δυσπέμπελα, cf. εὐπέμπελος.

v. 67. Prof. Jebb's ἀργεστάς ought, I think, to be read.

v. 80. For γελανώσας, a strange formation, and one hardly warranted by Pindar's θυμῷ γελανέι, Mr. Marindin suggests with much probability γαλανώσας (: γαλάνη = γαλήνη).

v. 107. For πλημυρῶν read probably πλημύρων and cf. Steph., *Thes.* s.v. πλημύρειν.

v. 151. I have referred on iii. 90 to Mr. Purser's view, which is probably right: certainly a finite verb seems wanted rather than the adverb μίννθα even with ἦν.

v. 194. ὅπ[ασσαν] should be read with Prof. Jebb for ἐπ[λῆσαν].

vi. 4 (note). The translation which Mr. Kenyon rejects is probably correct: that which he approves is impossible. 'Lachon obtained great glory on account of the praises of Ceos sung by the young men': the praises being Lachon's exploits.

vii. 1. While agreeing with Mr. Kenyon that Ἡμέρα is probably meant, I would parallel the first line by Frag. 66 (40 Bergk) Ἐκίτα δαδοφόρε, Νυκτὸς μελανοκόλπου θυγάτερ.

vii. 7. ἐρισταλκῆς (σθένης). Read ἀρισταλκῆς.

viii. 7. The expression ἐν ἄλικι χρόνῳ surely requires a note. ἄλιξ is apparently equivalent to τηλεκούτος, a transition similar to that seen in aequalis.

viii. 10. With κεραυνεγχεῖς might have been compared Pindar's εγχειέρανος.

ix. 10. νικάσπιδες is a very strange compound. 'With victorious shields,' the meaning preferred by the editor, seems a rather infelicitous epithet, as the victory is presumably won by the offensive, not the defensive, weapons. It is at least curious that at xi. 62 we have χαλκάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι, not indeed of Adrastus, but with Argos in the immediate vicinity. Given X in the lacuna (and there seems to be space for it) the strokes of ΝΙ would equally well give ΑΛ, thus giving ΧΑΛΚΑΣΠΙΔΕC ΗΜΙΘΕΟΙ in both passages.

ix. 13. ἀωτεῖοντα, in view of the striking parallel quoted in the note, seems the best suggestion for the corrupt ΑCΑΓΕΥΟΝΤΑ. At the same time, ἀωτεῖν, like ἀωτεῖν, commonly means 'to sleep': and it may be that this is the sense here. Prof. Butcher suggests ἀθαλεύοντα (: ἀθλήs weaned).

ix. 46. There can be little doubt that καθ' ὑψιπύλου Τροίας ἔδος should be read with Prof. Jebb. The difficulty in the mythology might be lessened if we could interpret σᾶς γενεᾶς loosely as 'the daughters of thy wife Harmonia.' It is not quite certain that Bacchylides regarded Thebe and Aegina as daughters of Ares: for κυανοπλοκάμου θήβας πόλιν may be a periphrasis for Thebes, of which the ἀγνιαιτίδες were Semele and her sisters. But the introduction of Thebe is strange if she is not a daughter of Harmonia: contrary to the usual form of the legend, which makes her the daughter of the river-god Asopus and Metope.

ix. 86. Perhaps κάλλιστον εἰ[ρήνας ἀγαλμα].

ix. 95-6. Perhaps

π[αύροις  
ἀν]δρ[ασιν πάντως ὀράται] τὸ μέλλον.

x. i. Perhaps

σὺ γὰρ [αἰὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πεδ]οιχνεῖς  
ἄθλα :

or ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις cf. vii. 9.

x. 10. ναισῶν seems to satisfy the conditions best. I had thought that the name of the athlete might lurk in these lines, and tried both v. 10 and v. 11 with that in view, impelled by the neighbourhood of τεᾶν ἀρετᾶν (v. 13). But I now think that v. 11 begins ἤγειρε θ' ἵνα κτλ. The letter before ΕΙ in the first word, which Mr. Kenyon reads now as Α now as Χ, may be Γ. If ἐκείνησεν ... ἤγειρε θ' seems prosaic, the fault lies in ἐκείνησεν.

x. 45 sqq. Mr. Kenyon, usually a stout champion of the punctuation in the MS., here abandons it without reason. We should read

τὸ μέλλον  
δ' ἀκρίτους τίττει τελευτάς  
πᾶ τύχα βρίσει.

πᾶ...βρίσει enforces ἀκρίτους. What meaning παῖ, τύχα βρίσει can have, the ode not being addressed to a boy, I fail to realise. It is moreover open to question whether ΠΑΙ could be παῖ. At xiii. 62 that vocative is written ΠΑΙ without any line above.

xi. 11. [κατέχ]ουσι seems better than

[κελαδ]οῦσι: cf. xiii. 129 *sq.* There is no accent over ΟΥ.

xi. 52. Mr. Kenyon prints εἰρυνβία, taking it with Διὸς, but the MS. has clearly εἰρυνβίῃ with πλούτῳ. Cf. xvi. 31 φθόνος εἰρυνβίας.

xi. 101. ἱππώκεος. A reference to Herodotus lib. i. *ad fin.* might be added.

xiii. 50. Mr. Kenyon puts a period after αἰνέι, but surely the subject to αἰνέι is contained in the following lines.

xiii. 126 *sqq.* I suggest [κλάζ]ντες ὑπερφιάλον

[μέγιστ' ἰθάρσων]  
[Τρῶ]ες ἱππενταὶ κνανώνιδας ἐκ  
[φλέξασιν ἐνσέλμους] νέας  
[παύραις χόρον εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν  
[ἀμέ]ρ[α]ς ἔξεν θεόδματον πόλιν.

ἐκφλέξασιν = when they had burnt. I adopt κλάζοντες, τρῶες, and εἰλαπίνας from Mr. Kenyon.

xiii. 160. For ἄμα δὴ, which I do not understand, perhaps θαυὰ δὴ, space permitting.

xiii. 166. For θερσοεπὴς I would prefer ἀθερσοεπὴς, to which the punctuation points rather (*v. note*), but I would connect the first part of the word with ἀθερίζεν. Prof. Butcher plausibly conjectures ἀτερψιεπὴς (cf. *infra*. 197 *τερψιπέης*).

xiii. 189. Perhaps φοινικοκραδέμους τε Μούσας rather. The poet trusts in his hope and the Muse's help.

xiii. 190. Perhaps τὰν δε[χάνορ' ἐστίαν].

xiii. 195. ἐνύμως may mean 'true to her name,' as Dr. Verrall holds for Aeschylus.

xiv. 22. Πυρρίχον may be supported by *v.* 182 ff.

xv. 5-6. Perhaps Ὀδυσσεῖ

[Λαρτιάδα Μενελα]φ τ' Ἀτρείδα βασιλεῖ.

xvi. 34. With ῥοδόεντι of a river cf. ἀνθεμόεντι Ἐβρω *v.* 5.

xvii. A reference to Baumeister *Denkmäler*, Band iii. p. 1793 (the Euphronius vase), might have been given with advantage.

xvii. 38. Νηρηίδες, but *infra* *v.* 102-3 Νηρῆος ὀλβίον κόρας. There cannot well be any such difference in this ode, at least between these expressions, as Ammonius refers to (Bergk 10).

xvii. 102 (*note*). Philological reasons would surely preclude the possibility of a form Νερῆος = Νηρέος, which seems to be hinted at.

xvii. 112. Prof. Jebb's εἰανόν (and πορφύρεον) may be accepted. Mr. Marindin points out that ἀμφι γυνίος *v.* 124 is only consistent with the mention of a garment here. He suggests also ἀμφέβαλε ταινίαν as a possible alternative.

xix. 15. For the corrupt ΤΙΗΝ. Mr. Marindin has a very attractive suggestion TIEN, another Doric Infinitive (cf. line 25 and *note*). He would take γέρας τῆν together, comparing Aesch. *Ag.* 706 μέλος τῶντας, and regard τῆν as exegetical of ἐξοχον γέρας. This would possibly not necessitate the removal of the stop (middle point) after γέρας: cf. xiii., iii. where this stop is equivalent to a comma.

Frag. 7, 5. πο[λυαμπελ]ον? In *vi.* 5 ἀμπελοτρόφον is applied to Κέον.

J. A. NAIRN.

#### NICOLE'S FRAGMENTS OF MENANDER.

*Le Laboureur de Ménandre*: fragments inédits sur papyrus d'Égypte, déchiffrés, traduits et commentés par Jules Nicole, Professeur à l'Université de Genève. [Geneva; Georg & Co., 1898 (*sic*)]. 2s. 6d.

THE announcement, which appeared in some of the daily papers a few weeks ago, that a play of Menander had been discovered in a papyrus manuscript, must have raised the hopes of many scholars. It has always been surprising that the discoveries of papyri, which have been so plentiful of late years, should have included no portion of Menander, probably the most popular of authors in the Alexandrian and subsequent ages. It has been suggested that the cause is to be found in the hostility of the Christian Church; but the chapter of accidents which

has given us Aristophanes and Herodas and certain parts of the Anthology and Petronius and Martial can hardly have owed much to ecclesiastical favour. In any case the influence of the Church would have been very ineffectual before the fourth century; and all the literary papyri which have yet been brought to light have belonged to earlier dates than this. The non-appearance of Menander must be put down to an accident—an accident which any day may repair. Unfortunately it is not repaired by the discovery, interesting though it be, which has now been made public by Prof. Nicole.

Prof. Nicole's discovery, which is published in a convenient pamphlet of some eighty pages, consists of two fragments of papyrus, the largest about 6 inches by 7,

the other slightly less, and containing writing on each side. Traces of writing on the margin of one of the fragments seem to indicate that the manuscript was a roll and not a codex; and if Prof. Nicole is right in assigning it to about the second century, the probabilities are strongly in favour of this conclusion, though opisthograph papyri, in which the *verso* holds the continuation of the text on the *recto*, are far from common. Prof. Nicole gives no facsimile, but his description of the hand as a small, neat uncial, slightly sloping, in the case of three columns, and a larger, upright uncial in the fourth, suits the date named, or the beginning of the third century. The text is readily identifiable as that of the *Γεωργός* of Menander, through the presence of two of the known quotations from that play (fraggs. 96 and 98, Kock); and what we have of it consists of four mutilated columns, containing portions of ninety lines in various states of preservation.

The first column (in the order in which Prof. Nicole prints them, though he finally comes to the conclusion that probably it is in fact the second) contains a monologue by a young man of which the most perfect portion runs as follows (according to Prof. Nicole's restoration):—

[εἰμ' ἀπο]λιπὼν δὲ τὸν γάμον τὴν φιλάτην  
[Φύλων]αν ἀδικήσαιμ' αὖ· οὐ γὰρ εἰσεβές.  
[κό]πτειν δὲ μέλλων τὴν θύραν ὀκνῶ πάλαι·  
[οὐ]κ οἶδα γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφόν; εἰ νῦν ἐξ ἀγροῦ  
[ἐ]νθάδ' ἐπιδημῇ, πάντα προνοεῖσθαι μ' ἔδει.  
[ἀ]λλ' ἐκποδὼν ἀπεμι καὶ βουλεύσομαι  
τοῦτ' αἰθ', ὅπως δεῖ διαφυγεῖν με τὸν γάμον.

In lines 4 and 5 of this passage a different punctuation would perhaps be an improvement:—

οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφόν, εἰ νῦν ἐξ ἀγροῦ  
ἐνθάδ' ἐπιδημῇ· πάντα προνοεῖσθαι μ' ἔδει.

The young man, hesitating on the doorstep, and anxious to know the exact situation of affairs inside before venturing in, says 'I don't know if my brother has come in from the country. I ought to know everything before I go in.' με δεῖ would perhaps be preferable, but the papyrus has a mark of elision after the μ.

The second column, written on the *verso* of the first, and perhaps following immediately upon it, contains a scene between a woman and a slave, who brings her news of her husband, a farmer in the country:—

A(γγελος). πρῶην ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμ[πέλοις]  
σκ[ά]πτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος Χρῆ-  
σ[ιπ]πος.

Γ(νῆ). ὦ

τάλαιν' ἐγώ.

A. θάρρει, τὸ πέρας δ' ἀκούε μου.  
ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλκους, ὡς τριταῖον  
ἐγένετο,  
βουβῶν ἐπ' ἡρθητῶ γέροντι, θέρμα τε  
ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ κακῶς ἔσχεν  
πάνν.

Γ. ἀλλ' ἐκκορη[θ]εῖς σύ γ', οἷα  
τάγαθὰ  
ἦκες ἀπαγγέλλων.

A. σιώπα, γράδιον.  
ἐνταῦθα χρεῖας γενομένης αὐτῷ  
τινος

κ...ε.μ.νος, οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρ-  
β[αρ]οι

'ἐκ[υλ]ισ' ἐκείνος· ἔστιν οἰμώζειν  
μ[όν]ον.'

κ[ἀλ]ιπον ἄπαντες· ὁ δὲ σὸς υἱὸς  
'Εχεμ[έν]ης]

νομίσασάντοῦ πατέρ' ἀνο[ρθῶ]σαι...  
ἤλειφεν ἐξέτριβεν ἀπέν[ι]ζεν φαγεῖν

προσέφερε παρεμύθευ, ὃ πάνν φαύ-  
λως ἔχει,

[σκ]ά[ζ]ο[ν]τ' ἀνέστησ' αὐτὸν ἐπι-  
μελούμενος.

In the last line it may be suggested that καὶ ζῶντ' would apparently suit the traces in the MS., as given in Prof. Nicole's transcript, and would give a more satisfactory sense.

This fragment, which continues for some lines further, is the largest continuous passage preserved in the new papyrus. The third column is in worse condition, and is chiefly remarkable for containing frag. 96 (Kock) in a form so different from that in which it is quoted by Stobaeus as to lead Prof. Nicole to suggest the hypothesis of two editions of the play. The fourth column is still more mutilated, and needs so much restoration as to make any but a quite conjectural text impossible. For the details of it, readers must be referred to Prof. Nicole's pamphlet.

Prof. Nicole has not confined himself to a mere printing of the text of his papyrus, nor even to a restoration of its mutilated lines. He has taken the materials provided by the papyrus, combined them with the already extant quotations from the drama, and endeavoured therefrom to reconstruct the plot and outline of the whole play. The result is given in the last twelve pages of his pamphlet, in which these materials (amounting in all to 115 lines) are mar-

shalled into ten skeleton scenes, mostly only of a few lines each. Prof. Nicole has shown extreme ingenuity in his task; but in fact he is trying to make bricks with very insufficient straw. A hundred and fifteen scattered lines, some preserved on account of the *γνώμαι* contained in them and others by the mere chance survival of two scraps of papyrus, are hardly likely to give a good idea of the course of a play which may have contained fifteen or seventeen hundred lines; and it so happens that none of our fragments reveals much of the action of the piece. Prof. Nicole's reconstruction, as he is the first to admit, is a tissue of hypotheses, of which the most that one can say is that they may possibly be right, but that (judging from the general fate of modern conjectures when confronted with

authentic evidence from manuscripts) they are more probably wrong. To say this is to imply no reflection upon Prof. Nicole. He has made the most of the materials which fortune has granted him; he has given what may be trusted to be an accurate reproduction of what the manuscript contains; he has done his best to supply its omissions, with such success as the *data* admit of; and if he has not been able to give us back a complete comedy of Menander, we may be certain that no one regrets it more than he does himself. Meanwhile we must take what we can get and be grateful, even if our gratitude commonly takes the form of a lively expectation of favours to come. And if there be favours to come, they can be in no better hands than those of Prof. Nicole.

F. G. KENYON.

#### HEINZE'S LUCRETII.

*T. Lucretius Carus de rerum natura.* Buch III. Erklärt von RICHARD HEINZE. Leipzig, Teubner, 1897. 4 M.

THIS book is one of the new series of scientific commentaries now being issued by Teubner. It is large octavo in size, and contains 206 pages: the *Vorwort* occupies 6 pages, the text 30 and the commentary 168. Below the text are printed all variant readings from the principal manuscripts, and accepted emendations, with the name of the critic.

The text is very conservative; Heinze marks as corrupt *spicariumque* 198, *mens* 239, *quaedam que* 240, *sitas* 306, *turbat* 493, *atque* 531, *utrumque* 658, *magnis* 962. In 58 he prints *eliciuntur et eripitur*—*manare*, 319 *video*, 420 *vita*, 820 *vitalibus*, 173 *suavis*, *et in terra*; and retains 412, 685, 743, 806–818. In marked contrast to Brieger and even Munro, Heinze allows lacunae only after 97 and 619, and rejects all transpositions proposed in recent years. For *manare* of 58 he suggests *mala re*; in 75 he reads *maceret invidia*: *ante*; 82 *timorem*. *hunc...suadet*, 194 *constat*, 337 *propterea*, 358 *cum expellitur aeco*, 377 *sunt, dumtaxat*, 394 *sis*, 415 *aliouist*, 433 *feruntur*, 444 *magis incohíbensquest*, 493 (probably) *turbat*, *agens anima synmas*, *ut*, 535 *diducere*, 574 *in se—in eos*, 596 *corpore*, 658 (probably) *utramque*, 694 *subitis e*, 742 *cervis*, 747 *quoque*, 917 *torrat*, 969 *antehac*, 1019 *torquet*. Some of these are new conjectures. It is interesting to note the increasing con-

servatism of Lucretian scholars since Lachmann; Munro restored the reading of the manuscripts in several cases and Brieger in still more; Heinze has not only surpassed both in retaining the reading of the codices, but has declined to follow Brieger in discovering gaps in the text, and has wholly abandoned the theory set forth by Lachmann that many passages interrupt the continuity of the argument: hence in Heinze's text there is no such bracketing as occurs in the editions of Bernays, Munro, and particularly Brieger.

The introduction to the commentary is a careful exposition of the Epicurean theory of the soul and mind, with extensive citation of Greek authorities; especially the authors contained in Usener's *Epicurea*, and the fragments of Diogenes of Oinoanda. In the commentary proper the treatment is thorough; not only the development of the argument is carefully noted, but there is almost excessive quotation of Greek authorities on philosophical principles advocated, or, by implication, opposed by Lucretius. Little attention is given to the Latinity except in the discussion of variant readings or conjectures; and the vision of the editor is rather directed to Greek than to Latin literature, as his main object was, apparently, to set forth plainly the principles discussed by Lucretius. Hence there is little of aesthetic or literary criticism, and the influence of Lucretius on later Roman poets and on modern literature is hardly touched. But an editor who in the pathetic passage



894 *iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor | optima nec dulcis occurrent oscula nati* insists that *uxor* goes with *accipiet* rather than with *occurrent* (*occurrent*), because *domus* is distributed into *uxor* and *nati* may well refrain from aesthetic criticism. But no book of Lucretius has ever been edited with the thoroughness which Heinze has shown, and for the understanding of the poet little remains to be done. Naturally in a commentary of such extent there are many statements of opinion with which readers will join issue, and all will not always agree with Heinze in his interpretations. There are remarkably few misprints, as for instance *ne* for *ve* p. 55; and errors in statements of fact are infrequent,

as p. 72 when Bockemüller alone is said to defend *suavis* although Lotze and Grasburger had also retained it. On page 129 Heinze says verse 527 *et membratim vitalem* is the only verse in Lucretius where a word ends after two spondees which begin the line; but 4, 1078 *nec constat quid* satisfies the condition, which should have been expressed in different terms.

The editions which are to follow in this series will be eagerly expected. It is fortunate for classical scholarship that there is at least one country in the world where elaborate commentaries can find a publisher.

W. A. MERRILL.

University of California.

#### KAIBEL ON THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES.

*De Sophoclis Antigona*, scripsit GEORGIUS KAIBEL. Göttingen. 1897. Pp. 2-27.

PROFESSOR KAIBEL has succeeded Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the Chair of Greek at Göttingen; and he inherits much of the originality, and perhaps something also of the wilfulness, of that eminent philologist. In this little monograph, written in Latin, he disputes the opinion, which has been current since it was suggested by an *obiter dictum* of Goethe's, that the last *rhesis* of Antigone (Soph. *Ant.* 891—928) has been interpolated by some inferior poet. As I have always maintained the genuineness of the passage, I may be allowed to welcome this able expression of a similar view, and to quote what I wrote on the subject thirty-six years ago: 'Antigone, when brought face to face with death, in utter isolation from human sympathy, comes down from the lofty tone she had assumed in her first answer to Creon, and recognizes the simple fact that it was the strength of her affection which impelled her to defy the law. Her love for Polynices was wonderful, passing the love that could be felt for a husband or a child.' There are several points of detail in Professor Kaibel's paper with which I cannot agree. I see no need of supposing a lacuna after v. 904 (*ἐρίμωσα* seems to me to bear the strain upon it—'It was indeed an honour I paid you if considered rightly'), and his inter-

pretation sometimes travels too far beyond the limits of the action: but his main contention seems to me sufficiently made out. He shows the difficulties, some of which were felt by Professor Jebb, of accepting various proposed excisions; he defends the condensation of the language—more like the poet than the interpolator; and he indicates the ground of the error which he combats, viz. a wrong conception of Sophoclean method and of the theme of the Antigone. The tragedy does not turn upon an opposition of abstract principles, ideas or rights, as Hegel thought, but on the conflict of two stubborn personalities. Antigone is not a prophetess declaring the unwritten laws to which she makes her appeal against her judge: but a princess, proudly maintaining the honours of her line against one of an alien house who is infringing them. I could wish that the writer had not said that she would have resisted any other action of the hated Creon. I do not think he dwells enough on the famous words, οὔτοι ξυνέχθην ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφην. And he fails to appreciate the justice of Aristotle's remark on the *finesse* of Haemon. But his pages, few as they are, are full of suggestiveness, and while in some particulars his views will bear revision, his main drift deserves respectful consideration.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

## A ROMAN PROSOPOGRAPHIA.

*Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I., II., III. Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Regiae Borussicae.* Pars I.: edidit Elmarus Klebs. Pars II.: edidit Hermannus Dessav. Berolini apud Georgium Reimerum. MDCCCLXXXVII. 44 M.

Now that (to quote the *Praemonitum* of the Academy) the collection of Greek and Roman inscriptions is in a certain sense, and for the moment, complete, it has become possible to use, for purposes of research, the store of matter thus issued and digested. 'Id jam nobis videmur adsecuti esse, ut post messem in horreis conditam manus admoveri possint ad messorum operas securitatis.' Most of the inscriptions are of little use, if taken one at a time; joined and compared, they will yield much information which can be found nowhere else. Of what value such comparative inquiry may be is abundantly shown by, e.g., Hirschfeld's *Untersuchungen*, and the Academy mentions several large tasks of investigation which ought to be undertaken on the material now ready to hand. It insists that this material must include coins, papyri, and authors as well as inscriptions; combination of all these sources can alone give '*doctrina pendens non a copiarum specie, sed ab ipsa rerum cognitione.*' These tasks, or others like them, will, it is confident, be carried out, not by the Academy itself, but by individual *viri docti*: but the Academy judges it well to issue a specimen of the kind and method of research which it has in mind, and chooses for that purpose an account of the Roman citizens either of rank or note who lived in the times between Augustus and Diocletian. The idea of men of note is understood liberally as regards Romans; Greeks and barbarians are not admitted without real cause. The names are arranged alphabetically, on the usual principles; and the several articles show (with the utmost brevity of course) what is known of each man, or at least where what is known may be found. The accounts set out by saying who each person was, and then the text of the inscriptions relating to him or her is often transcribed in full, the literary sources merely indicated. Here is a fairly typical article:—

'Sex. Lucilius Bassus (*praenomen dederunt diplomata militaria, cf. infra*). Plane incertum, num ex stirpe Lucilii Bassi quem memorat Cicero ad Att. 12. 5. 2.—Praefectus alae, Tac. h. 2. 100. A Vitellio Ravennati simul et Misensensi classibus praepositus, ib. Iratus quod statim praefectus praetorio factus sit, classem Ravennatem Flavianis prodidit Tac. h. 2. 100, 101, 3. 12, cf. c. 36, 40. In vincula conicitur,

sed mox solvitur, Tac. 3. 12. Interfecto Vitellio mittitur ad componendam Campaniam, Tac. h. 4. 3. Praefectus utriusque classis etiamtum ineunte a. 71 *diplomata militaria data d. 5 Apr. 71 (III. p. 860, III. S. p. 1959 = X 867)*.—Legatus missus in Iudaeam Iosephus bell. 7. 6. 1 (*adlectus scilicet inter praetorios a Vespasiano; nisi major statueret duos eo tempore fuisse Lucilios Bassos*), exercitum a Sex. Vettuleno Ceriale accipit, Herodium et Machaeruntem castella capit, item saltum ductum Iarden, Iosephus bell. 7. 6. 1—5. Terram Iudaeam vendere iubetur a Vespasiano, ib. 6. Mox obit, ib. 7. 8. 1.

The first volume (A—C) is the work of E. Klebs: the second (D—O) of H. Dessau; the third, not yet published, was assigned to P. v. Rohden, upon whose illness Dessau undertook to finish it; the fourth will contain the *fasti consulares* and lists of all citizens who held public office. Under the general rules laid down by the Academy the writings of literary men are not dwelled on, and the private life rather than the public actions of the emperors makes the bulk of their articles; literary and political history may be better studied elsewhere. The editor of the second volume acknowledges special obligations to Th. Mommsen and O. Hirschfeld for revision of proofs, and to F. Imhoof-Blumer and B. Pick for help in the department of numismatics. Only a long familiarity with the book, perhaps one of years, could enable a reader—or rather user—of it to say how far its authors have succeeded in carrying out the excellent scheme of its projectors; but our first impressions are very favourable. Where we have tested it, the result is satisfactory. The printing too is careful. We have noticed nothing amiss here except that the articles *Fronto* and *Frugi* are run together. To many students, and on many lines of investigation, these handsome volumes will be of great use. Visitors to Rome will remember that among the few inscriptions still visible there in public places is one in honour of Q. Herennius Etruscus (Via di Campo Carleo, close by the Forum of Trajan), and that they have not found it easy to ascertain who this Herennius was. Of course the information could be had, but not everywhere or readily; but now the *Prosopographia* offers it in an accessible form, and no doubt it will presently find its way to writers of guidebooks. (But we must not expect learned sources to be used too quickly; an old established and widely used Handbook of Rome still talks of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.) The *Prosopographia* costs, vol. I. 24 marks, vol. II. 20 marks.

F. T. RICHARDS,

## CARUSELLI ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ITALIANS.

*Sulle Origini dei popoli Italiani*, by Giovanni Caruselli, Palermo, 1896.

THIS learned book belongs to a class which did much to fill the shelves of antiquarians a century ago—those written to maintain some one ethnological conjecture which was to solve forthwith all the riddles in all the early history of all the peoples of the globe. The author's enthusiasm for his subject and his first-hand acquaintance with a wide range of ancient authorities entitle him to respect; but they will hardly win him converts among students who have been trained in stricter methods of inference or research. Signor Caruselli's main object seems to be to unite Ligurians, Sicilians, Oscans, Etruscans, Peloponnesians, Pelasgians, Philistines and a large number of other ancient races under the name Hamitic, and incidentally to show that Sicily was the first home of European civilisation. A great part of his argument is unhappily based on 'etymologies'; and its only result is to show the fatal effects of such speculation, always dangerous, but doubly so when unrestrained by any conception of phonetic law. The Phoenicians are 'only Phaeacians' (p. 6), the different 'spelling' being due 'to the natural changes which words undergo' in passing from one language or dialect into another. Equally 'easy to un-

derstand' is the 'change' (p. 12) from Iberia to Hypëreia: and of (p. 174) the (Italian!) phrase 'io pago il reo' into the name of the "Ἀρείος πάγος. Again (p. 132) 'Pela-s-gi were really Fili-stei' (the Philistines), because 'pela and fili are synonyms used indifferently in Italian.' 'The land of the Pelo was of necessity ("doveva") called the land of the Pelo, and this phrase could not but become Πελας γῆ in the language of the Graeco-Aryans.' The reader is at first inclined to hope that these etymologies are only meant as a kind of fanciful by-play, but unhappily the author enunciates (p. 46) five principles of enquiry, including some dealing with etymological arguments, in a form which is entirely uncritical.

Yet, when all is said, the book renders one substantial and most timely service to scholarship, by directing attention to the abundant material for research left to us in ancient writers; a source of knowledge which in our modern diggings and derivings it has become the fashion to neglect. And in at least one particular, his sharp distinction between Hellenes and Pelasgians, Sign. Caruselli's fidelity to the ancients brings him happily into line with the most recent advances<sup>1</sup> of archaeological research in this country.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, October, 1897.

<sup>1</sup> Ridgeway, *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xvi. 77.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

## PLINY'S CHAPTERS ON ART.

*The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art.* R. JEX-BLAKE and E. SELLERS. London, Macmillan & Co. 14s.

THIS is a work which must earn for these two alumnars of Gorton the gratitude of all students of Greek art. The main bulk of the book is made up of the text of those chapters of Pliny which bear on Greek art, together with a running translation and full archaeological commentary. To this is prefixed an introduction of ninety-four pages dealing with the sources of Pliny's information; at the end are added an appendix comprising a few isolated passages from the *Naturalis Historia*, which bear on the history of art together with a parallel passage from Athenagoras, ten pages of ad-

denda containing extra notes, and two indices, of the artists mentioned in the book and of the localities of various statues in the days of Pliny. Miss Jex-Blake is responsible for the translation, and Miss Sellers for the commentary and introduction, while some additional suggestions are offered by Dr. H. L. Ulrichs.

The text adopted and the translation do not seem to us to call for much criticism. The text differs little from that of Detlefsen, and, where this is the case, generally adheres more closely to that of the Codex Bambergenensis; too closely perhaps in certain places, for instance in xxxvi. 25 where *campteras* is adopted instead of Jan's emendation *lamp-teras*. The meaning attributed to the word is that of 'columns,' such as marked the turning points in the stadium; but it does not seem to be used exactly in this sense by

either Greek or Roman writers, unless indeed ἐπὶ τοῖς καμπήσιν (Ar. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 2) be taken to mean 'opposite the columns' rather than 'after the turn.' Certainly the usual meaning of the term is 'the turning part of the course'; cf. Pacuv. ap. Non. i. 238: Extremum intra campterem ipsum praegradat Parthenorem. To Miss Sellers we are indebted for one distinctly brilliant emendation; the reading '*Alcman poeta*' in xxxiv. 71 differing but little from that of the MSS., giving much better sense than *Almena* after the words '*hominum effigie*,' and according well with the mention in the *Anthology* of statues of the poet. The translation of Miss Jex-Blake deserves untold praise; it is always clear and, if tending towards freedom rather than scholarly accuracy,<sup>1</sup> is eminently readable; and that in the case of an author of the character of Pliny is no small achievement. The most important suggestion made in the notes, or rather in the addenda, is that the sculptor of the *Hermes of Olympia* was not Praxiteles but his father Cephisodotus the elder, who is credited by Pliny with such a group. The question seems to us to be one of intricate artistic criticism, and we doubt the wisdom of opening a discussion of such complexity in a short note of some thirty lines.

Great, however, as are the merits of the book as a reading edition of those chapters of Pliny which bear on art, it is in the Introduction that we find matter of the greatest interest. The study of the sources of Pliny's information, though no new one in Germany, has never been seriously taken up by English scholars, so that students of the subject have had to have recourse to numerous scattered German monographs, some of them difficult to obtain. We are doubly indebted therefore to Miss Sellers for collecting with admirable patience and completeness the results arrived at by these scholars, and for putting them before us in a clear and concise form; even if she had added no fresh conjectures of her own, her introduction would have been most valuable from this point of view, and, though we may not be as firm believers as Miss Sellers is herself in these German methods and the deductions derived from them, it is essential that any archaeologist

should know and be able to judge of the fruits of the most methodical analysis which any writer has perhaps ever undergone.

Personally we must confess ourselves not a little sceptical as to many of the conclusions arrived at and as to the validity of the methods adopted. Though of course in such a study we cannot look for absolute certainty of results, yet, if in one or two instances we note in tabulated form the facts known about certain of the authors quoted by Pliny, and the attributions made to them by Miss Sellers and her German prototypes, it will perhaps be apparent on how thin a thread of fact some of these conjectures hang.

It is to Xenocrates (of Sicyon?) that with great probability the main framework of Pliny's *History of Art* is attributed. Of him we know the following facts: (a) He was an artist and pupil of either Tisicrates or Euthycrates of Sicyon, flourishing probably about 280 B.C. (Plin. xxxiv. 83, Diog. Laert. iv. 15). Miss Sellers without any due reason differentiates him from the Xenocrates, son of Ergophilus of Athens. (b) He wrote '*De Toreutice*' (Pliny, *l.c.* and Ind. to Lib. xxxiv.). (c) He also wrote about painting, and is quoted by Pliny (xxxv. 68) as offering a distinctly artistic criticism of the work of Parrhasius. (d) His date corresponds roughly with that to which Pliny assigns the fall of ancient art. On these four facts hang all the following attributions to Xenocrates of passages in Pliny. (a) The five or six well-known criticisms of the greater Greek sculptors, as being the criticisms of an artist, as showing a partiality for the school of Sicyon, and as occupying in the history of sculpture a position parallel to the series of criticisms of the great painters, one of which is distinctly attributed to Xenocrates by Pliny. (b) Because Xenocrates was the author of the criticism of Parrhasius, he is reasonably concluded to be the source of the whole series of criticisms of the greater painters, to which this belongs. (c) To him is also attributed the main body of the alphabetical and chronological tables of sculptors, 'simple directness' being 'a clear mark of Xenocratic authorship.' (d) To Xenocrates as being a native of Sicyon, which is distinctly questionable, and a pupil of the Sicyonian school of art, are also attributed all passages putting forward the claim of this school to greatness; the attribution of the invention of sculpture to Dipoenus and Skyllis, and the whole early history of art (though he is also credited with the statement that sculpture began with Pheidias); the whole history of the

<sup>1</sup> We have noticed a few instances in which the translation seems at least questionable, if not absolutely wrong; e.g. 33, 156, *in emblemata* is apparently translated 'on the interior'; 34, 66, *constantiam* surely means 'firmness' rather than 'perseverance'; 35, 126, *eam picturam* translated 'technical innovation' should rather be 'that design.' 35, 153, to refer *Idem* back to Butades, though it may be necessary, at least requires some defence.



early development of painting (though he dates the beginning of this art also from the same artist);<sup>1</sup> and the whole history of clay-modelling from Butades to Lysistratus.

Now whatever may be our views as to the probability of the Xenocratic authorship of these passages, to say with Miss Sellers that they can be 'traced back with certainty' to that author seems to us to be going beyond the mark, and we should not be inclined to base on this degree of probability numerous other conjectures as to Xenocrates himself and other artists—conjectures which in one case force us to change our view as to the nationality of an artist, and in another force us to suppose that within a single century there were at Sicyon two painters of the name of Nealces. Into this latter case we propose to enter in some detail as providing a further instance of the methods of this new inquiry.

The most important place, after Xenocrates, among the authors from whom Pliny drew his information, is given to Duris. To recount all we know of him and his writings would here be beside the mark, nor do we wish in detail to go through all the Plinian passages attributed to him. But for the case in point the following facts may be mentioned: he was a tyrant of Samos born 340 B.C., and he died c. 270 B.C. Among other writings attributed to him are *Lives of Sculptors and Poets* and a work *De Toreutice*. He was a Peripatetic and appears to have been 'a curious inquirer into personal anecdote,' but a by no means trustworthy historian. He is quoted by Pliny as recording that Lysippus was originally a poor coppersmith, and had no regular training, following the well-known advice of Eupompus to make nature his master. He was, further, Plutarch's authority for the rise of Eumenes from poverty, while according to Diogenes Laertius he made Socrates originally a slave. Now on the ground of these facts we find attributed to him *all* instances of untrained artists rising to greatness, *all* stories of the meeting of great artists, and *all* mention of men, originally poor, acquiring great wealth. Among these one of the better known is the case of Erigonus, originally the slave and colour-mixer of Nealces, who rose to eminence and later had a school

of his own. But the only date in the life of Nealces of which we have record is 251 B.C., some twenty years after the death of Duris, when he was with Aratus at the freeing of Sicyon. For this reason, and on the ground of Münzer's extremely ingenious interpretation of a picture attributed to Nealces, the great artist and the artist-friend of Aratus are declared to be different people, and the apparent contradiction of dates is explained away. The method of argument is simple, but we doubt much whether it be sound.

We have spoken of these two cases of Xenocrates and Duris, not at all because the conclusions arrived at with regard to these writers seem to us more far-fetched than in the cases of the other authorities quoted by Pliny, but because they seem to present a fair sample of the whole. With many of the attributions of parts of Pliny to various earlier authors we heartily agree; the introduction to this volume brims over with ingenious and suggestive points of criticism; nor is it the fault of Miss Sellers if we cannot wholly pin our faith to the reasoning of her German masters. She has played her part in handing on to us the fruits of their labours, adding many an acute suggestion of her own.

There is one point about the volume however, which, much against our will, we are bound to mention, namely the evident need of greater care both in the revision of the proofs and in the method of writing. This failing is constantly betraying itself, more especially in the introduction, in false references to the text, in distinctly questionable forms of ancient names, e.g. Ailianos and John Lydos, and in inaccurate writing, e.g. 'a distinct person to' (= distinct from, p. xlii), 'at a moment that' (= at a moment when, p. xlvi), and many other similar slips. These points would not have called for notice, but that it is a thousand pities that they should mar a book which must deservedly become a standard work of reference for all archaeological students.

A. G. BATHER.

## MONTHLY RECORD.

### GREECE.

<sup>1</sup> In dealing with the story of the clipeus at Athens painted by Pheidias, Miss Sellers seems to raise unnecessary difficulties. Two explanations are equally possible: (a) the clipeus was that of Athene Parthenos, which he designed before, and probably painted, after it was carved: cf. the story of Parrhasius and Mys, and the epigram quoted Ath. xi. p. 782 B, γράμματα Παρθαίου τέχνη Μυός κ.τ.λ.; or (b) the clipeus was a round tablet for a picture, cf. Facc. Forc. s.v.

*Athens.*—In front of the grotto of Apollo (see above, p. 415) was found a quadrangular sinking in the rock, intended to receive the lowest layer of the altar, which was built of irregular stones. It has been conjectured that the numerous votive-inscriptions of the thesmothetae which have fallen out of the grotto into the building below (see above, p. 415), are to be connected with the oath taken by the archons on entering upon office (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7, 1).



—A small open grotto in the rock immediately above the Klepsydra was formerly attributed to Apollo by Götting on the evidence of the letters ΠΟΑ which he read in a niche. In the recent investigations neither the inscription nor the niche has been found; and the supposed letters were probably merely natural markings.<sup>1</sup>

*Mycenae.*—The section of the Acropolis behind the polygonal tower on the west side has been laid bare. The rubbish in this part lay as deep as 10 metres at least. The ruins of several houses were discovered, and amongst them a female head of limestone, measuring 0.17 m. in height. Hair, eyes, ears, and mouth are painted; the neck is adorned with a necklace of alternately blue and red beads. The most curious point is that the face is decorated with four rosettes, one on the brow, one on the chin, and one on each cheek. Tsuntas takes this to be an indication of tattooing. Besides this head there were found an archaic bronze inscription and a gem representing an animal-headed demon subduing two lions. Outside the acropolis a number of graves have been opened, the amount of treasure in which varies with their distance from the Acropolis. Only one bee-hive tomb (Kuppel-grab) was discovered, but this one is carried out in very good style. The vault measures about 8 m. in diameter at the ground-level, and is built of hard hewn stones; the façade is of hewn poros stones; and the interstices between the layers are often filled up with lime. In the floor of this tomb were found three oblong graves, the longest being of 4 m., all covered with large slabs. They had been plundered in antiquity; but the robbers had left outside them, on the floor of the building, several objects: some little plates of glass paste with figures in relief of animal-headed demons standing beside a tripod or altar and holding vessels in their hands. Such figures have not hitherto been found on this kind of glass-ware, and Tsuntas concludes that it was made at Mycenae.<sup>2</sup>

#### ASIA MINOR.

Mr. J. G. C. Anderson's researches in Asia Minor during the present year have resulted in settling many

topographical problems. He has discovered the ruins of Trapezopolis, the existence of which was already conjectured in the Lycos valley, on a plateau 1½ hours S.E. of the railway station at Serai Keui. The modern name is Bolo. The river Kapros is probably, as Ramsay has lately conjectured, the Genk Bunar Su, a tributary of the Lycos, and formerly wrongly identified with the Kadmos. Kidramos is placed beside Budjak Keui on the slopes of the Tchibuk Dag, and Sanaos, by epigraphic evidence, at Sarkavak. On the line of the eastern trade-route, the following sites are more or less certain: Chelidonia—Diniae at Karadilli, Kinnaborion at Armudli, Holmoi at Karadjören, Hadrianopolis (= Thymbrion) in the plain at or near Kotchash. In Phrygia Pareiois there are two newly found towns at the foot of Sultan Dag, Selinda (Selind) and Pisa (Bissa). In the Praipennis country, between the villages Doghan-Arslan and Gerriz, has been found the site of ἡ Μεγαλὴ πόλις, i.e. Meros. In the neighbourhood is a rock-monument of considerable interest. The site of Bria is now fixed one and three quarter miles N.W. of Burgas, at which place both Radet and Ramsay had independently proposed to place it. Besides these topographical facts, Mr. Anderson has discovered a number of interesting inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

*Journal of Hellenic Studies.* Vol. xvii. Part i. 1. Cecil Smith: Inscriptions from Melos. 2. J. G. C. Anderson: The Road-System of Eastern Asia Minor, with the Evidence of Byzantine Campaigns (Map); Excursus on the Royal Road. 3. T. W. Allen: The Text of the Homeric Hymns (Part iii.). 4. H. B. Walters: On some Antiquities of the Mycenaean Age recently acquired by the British Museum (Plate). 5. G. F. Hill: Notes on additions to the Greek Coins in the British Museum, 1887-1896 (Plate). 6. J. B. Bury: The Nika Riot. 7. P. Gardner: The Mantinean Basis; a Note. 8. D. Mackenzie: Excavations of the British School at Melos; the Site of the 'Three Churches' (Plan). 9. J. L. Myres: Excavations in Cyprus in 1894. 10. C. E. Edgar: Two Stelae from Kynosarges (Plate). 11. W. Rhys Roberts: The Greek Treatise on the Sublime; its Modern Interest.

G. F. HILL.

<sup>1</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 30 Oct.

<sup>2</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 16 Oct.

<sup>3</sup> *Athen.* 23 Oct.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

**The Journal of Philology.** Vol. xxv. No. 50. 1897.

*On the Salinon of Archimedes*, T. L. Heath. Maintains that the name of this figure is simply a Graecised form of the Lat. *salinum*, 'salt-cellar.' *Early Citations from the Book of Enoch*, H. J. Lawlor. A contribution towards a complete list of the references to this book in early patristic writers, and an estimate of the authority attributed to it by those writers. *Notes on the Homeric Hymns by J. P. D'Orville*, T. W. Allen. These notes are worth publishing, being written at a time when no MSS. had been collated since the Ed. pr. in 1488. *Notes on Bücheler's Carmina Epigraphica*, Robinson Ellis. *Silvae Manilianae Appendix*, J. P. Postgate. *Trasimene*, G. B. Grundy. Maintains the Tuoro site of the battlefield in opposition to Mr. Henderson [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 227]. *On Passages in Plato's Philebus*, H. Jackson. *Enclutaciones Homericæ*, T. L. Agar. On books xix.-xxiv.

**The American Journal of Philology.** Vol. xviii. 1. Whole No. 69. April, 1897.

*Dörpfeld and the Greek Theatre*, T. D. Goodell. Considers the universal acceptance of D.'s view to be merely a question of time. *The Question of Language-standard in Modern Greece*, B. I. Wheeler. Etiam, in *Plautus and Terence*, W. H. Kirk. Distinguishes three distinct values of *etiam*, viz. temporal ('still'), additory ('also') and intensive ('even'). It is originally a temporal particle. *The Origin of Latin haud and Greek ob*; and the *Extensions of the Originally Unextended Form*, L. Horton-Smith. Refers both to the Idg. ground form \**ob* from the Idg. *yeu* 'to fail.'

NOTES. *Latin -astro*, G. M. Bolling. *On the Alleged Confusion of Nymph-Names*. Appendix, J. P. Postgate. [Cl. Rev. x. 330]. *νέμεν and νέμεσθαι*, W. H. Kirk. Among the books reviewed are Peck's *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, Puntou's *L'Inno Omerico a Demetra*,

Ciccotti's *Il Processo di Verre*, and Bornecque's *M. Tullii Cicero in Verrem*, De Signis. There are *Brief Mentions* of Page, Palmer and Wilkins' *Horace*, and the 4th Ed. of Classen's *Thucydides*, Book I. by Steup.

Part 2. Whole No. 70. July, 1897. *The Subjunctive in Independent Sentences in Plautus*, E. P. Morris. This paper is limited to a presentation of the facts of usage: others will follow. *Textual Notes and Queries on Plautus*. This article is on the *Mostellaria*. *Superstitions and Popular Beliefs in Greek Comedy*, E. Riess. A companion paper to the same writers' 'Superstition in Greek Tragedy.' *On the Definition of Some Rhetorical Terms*, V. J. Emery. A paper on certain words and definitions either omitted or incorrectly given in some dictionaries named. If the writer had also consulted Ernesti's *Lexicon technologiae Latinorum rhetoricae* he would not have had so much to write.

Among the books reviewed are Schanz's *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*, Band iii. Heft 3 u. 4 and Dyroff's *Geschichte des Pronomen Reflexivum*. There are *Brief Mentions* of Zieliński's *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Weil's *Études sur le drame antique*, Marchant's *Thucydides* Book vi., Rutherford's *Scholias Aristophanica*, and Sandys' *First Philippic and the Olynthiacs of Demosthenes*.

**Mnemosyne.** N.S. Vol. xxv. Part 3. 1897.

*Lysica*, H. van Herwerden. Critical notes. *De Horatii carminibus ad rempublicam et Caesarem pertinentibus*, H. T. Karsten. Three divisions are made, (1) B.C. 42-31. (2) B.C. 28-24 panegyric and ethical odes. (3) The odes of Book iv. The first two divisions are here dealt with, and there is a short digression on the names *Caesar* and *Augustus* in Horace, Vergil, and Propertius. *Homericæ*, J. van Leeuwen. Continued from last no. [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 369]. This paper is on the fragments recently edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. *Obser-*

*vationculæ de jure Romano*, J. C. Naber. Continued [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 369]. This paper is *De pignore praetorio*. *De loco quodam Vergilii*, P. H. Damsté. In Aen. vi. would insert 607 between 585 and 586. *Studia Lucretiana*, J. Woltjer. Continued from the last vol. [Cl. Rev. x. 361]. Notes on ii. 1020, 1139-1140, 1146-1149, 1170-1172, iii. 26-27, 189-195, 298, and 336-349. *Ad Thucyd.* vi. 37, 2, E. C. Marchant. Against J. van Leeuwen, and defends his own conj. *οἰκίαιρες*. [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 368]. *Ad Martialem*, J. J. Hartman. Critical notes. *Ad Thucyd.* iii. 45, 3, J. v. L. Reads τῶν πλείστων ἀδικημάτων for τ. μεγίστων ἀ.

Part 4. *De Monumento Ancyrano sententiæ controversæ*, J. W. Beck. Dissents from some of Wölfflin's views 'de hac inscriptionum regina.' *De templis Romanis*, I. M. J. Valetón. Continued [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 369]. This paper is 'De prolationibus pomerii.' *De codice Laurentiano lxxviii. 2. Apulei Metamorphoseon*, J. van der Vliet. The results of a further collation of this MS. with reference to the writer's edition of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius.

*Deus conversus in pretium*, J. C. Vollgraff. On Eur. Andr. 160 sqq. In 169 proposes οὐ Πηλεὺς οὐδὲ Φοῖβος ἀλλ' Ἑλλάς πόλις. *Ad Iliadis xii. libros posteriores commentatio altera*, H. van Herwerden. A review of Leeuwen and Mendes da Costa's ed. continued [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 368]. *ἸΗΣΟΥ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΩΝ*, S. A. N. In εὐὰν μὴ νηστεύσῃτε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, the ingenious conjecture is made εὐὰν μνηστεύσῃτε κ.τ.λ. *ΚΝΙΣΜΑΡΑ*, S. A. Naber. Various emendations on the minor works of Xenophon. *Inscriptio emendata*, H. v. H. An inser. from Apamea publ. in *Mittheilungen des K. D. Archæologischen Instituts*, 1896 p. 374. *Ad Herodam*, J. v. L. In Herodas i. 41 proposes [Μάνδριν] πρὸς ἑλλαν and in ib. 64 ἡδέω[ς τε κίλει καί]. *Ad Thucyd.* iii. 59, 2, J. v. L. Inserts τε after προφερόμενοι and δὲ after ἰκέται. *Ad Platon*, J. v. L. In Rep. 586 B proposes σκληροῖς for σιδηροῖς.

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*Note.*—In the General Index names of actual contributors, in the Index Locorum references to passages discussed, are printed in heavy type.

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<sup>1</sup> The Index is by W. F. R. SHILLETO, M.A., formerly Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.  
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Note.—References to the Orators are given by-number of speech and section, to Aristotle by the paging of the Berlin edition, to Cicero by section, to Plato by Stephanus' paging, to Plautus and Terence by the continuous numeration where such exists. It will materially assist subsequent readers of the 'Review' if contributors will in future conform as far as possible to this system.

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